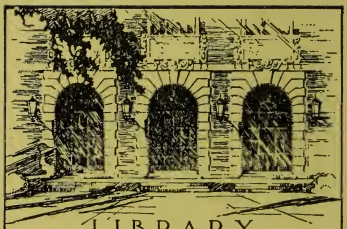

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The CITY of WORCESTER.
as it stood fortified 3 Sep. 1651.
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2 St Peters Church
3 St Andrews Ch.
4 St Martins Ch.
5 St Swithins Ch
6 St Clements Ch.
7 St Albans Ch
8 St Helens Ch.
9 St Nicholas Ch.
10 St Johns
11 All Saints Ch
12 The Fort Royal
13 Castle Hill
14 Bps Palace
15 Castle Gate
16 College Gate
17 Sudbury Gate
18 St Martins Gate
19 Fore Gate
20 Friars Gate
22 High Street
23 Friars Street
24 Pitchcroft
25 Severn Bridge
26 The Waterhouse
27 The Key

WORCESTER

IN

Olden Times.

By JOHN NOAKE,

MEMBER OF THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, AND AUTHOR OF "THE RAMBLER TO THE CHURCHES OF WORCESTERSHIRE."

LONDON:
LONGMAN AND CO.
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"Not to know what has been transacted in former times is to continue always a child. If no use is made of the labours of past ages, the world must remain always in the infancy of knowledge".—CICERO.

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"Nor rough, nor barren are the winding ways
Of hoar antiquity, but strewn with flowers."

Preface.

ONE of the principal sources of information with regard to the history and social progress of our provincial towns has been most unaccountably neglected—I allude to local records. The task of examining and collating these documents, with a view to a national history, yet remains unattempted, the labours inseparable therefrom having scared the most enthusiastic antiquary. Authors, for the most part, prefer the pleasure derived from the erection of their literary monuments on the foundation of other men's labours to the more costly one of purchasing original materials by the sacrifice of a life of toiling research. They would be the architect of a stately edifice rather than the humble stone-getter. But without the drudgery of the quarryman, the sublime and time-defying structures, planned by science and religion, would have been unrealised. So the history of our country, and of the habits and customs of our forefathers, cannot be rendered complete till the records of corporate towns have received that careful examination which in truth is due to their importance ; and if, in presenting this little work to the public—not only of Worcestershire, but my countrymen in general, whom it equally concerns—I may be ranked with the obscure and subterranean delver, whose individual labours are comparatively insignificant,

yet shall I at least have the satisfaction of not being absolutely an idle spectator while the historian, the poet, and the man of science, are raising their gorgeous temples of undying fame far above me.

The selections which I have made from the documents to which I have had access refer chiefly to the domestic and social condition, the municipal polity, and the general progress of civilization, in the capital of Worcestershire, for the last three or or four centuries. I do not profess to write a history of Worcester, but to furnish new materials for incorporation in a future history. Those materials are as yet but so many isolated chapters of notes, strung together by such observations as are necessary for the general reader to understand them. The matter which I have collected is, however, almost entirely new, for no historian of Worcester seems as yet to have troubled himself with an examination of the first and most authentic sources of information, namely, the corporation records. It is true that some of the divisions of my subject include details which *primâ facie* may appear unimportant, if not tedious to the general reader; but, if so, I would refer him to the judicious observation made by the celebrated author of the last published history of this country:

"Readers (says Mr. Macaulay) who take an interest in the progress of civilization and of the useful arts will be grateful to the humble topographer who has recorded these facts, and will, perhaps, wish that historians of far higher pretensions had sometimes spared a few pages from military evolutions and political intrigues, for the purpose of letting us know how the parlours and bedchambers of our ancestors looked."

It has been also well remarked by another author:

"Let not the antiquary be deterred from following up his delightful occupation by the jeers of the ignorant or the scoffings of the utilitarian. It is true that many an object he handles may be intrinsically of little interest or value; but when taken as forming a part of a vast

series, as being a link in a chain, or rather a net-work of evidence, the preservation and knowledge of which is of importance to the community, it becomes of relative value, and is not to be neglected. Just as the entomologist, the botanist, and the chemist, may be supposed to be wasting their time in examining the tissues of a beetle's wing, or a flower's petal, or the ultimate composition of some evanescent gas; so the archæologist may sometimes be exposed to ridicule for amassing illegible coins, or for hunting after worm-eaten and damp-disfigured manuscripts. Nevertheless, each of them is working usefully in his special province; each is doing something towards forming a great whole; and though the results of their labours may not be immediately evident, yet in time they come to be duly appreciated. The diligent and enlightened antiquary may have his exertions little noticed, but he has the consolation of reflecting that he is always a servant of his country and mankind."

I have here to express my cordial obligations to the Mayor of the city, R. Padmore, Esq., the Very Rev. Dr. Peel, the Dean, J. Dent, Esq., the High Sheriff of the county, the Right Hon. Lord Foley, the Hon. General H. B. Lygon, M.P., Sir J. S. Pakington, Bart., M.P., J. H. H. Foley, Esq., M.P., and O. Ricardo, Esq., M.P., whose very liberal patronage encouraged me to present this work to the public; to those gentlemen of the city and county who have already become subscribers; to T. Wright, Esq., M.A., the accomplished author of the *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, and many other works illustrative of English and Irish history, for his prompt and valuable literary assistance; to J. M. Gutch, Esq., for his presentation of a copy of the ancient plan of Worcester, a lithographed impression of which is prefixed to this work; to J. Knight, Esq., for his valuable suggestions; to J. Hill, Esq., Town Clerk, for his courtesy in permitting me at all times to inspect the corporation records; and to Mr. George, of the Town Clerk's Office, for the personal assistance which he so cheerfully rendered; likewise to J. Parker, Esq., for permission to inspect the books of the Clothiers' Company; to J. Hall, Esq., for the loan of the Ironmongers' Company's records; to Mr. Davis, of the

Foregate, for ditto, belonging to the Merchant Tailors' Company; and to Mr. Burlingham, for ditto, of the Glovers' Company.

In conclusion, I have to solicit the indulgence of my readers, to whom many imperfections of style, language, and arrangement, will be too obvious. This work would probably never have been obtruded upon their patience, but for the great and unexpected favour with which my first production, *The Rambler to the Churches of Worcestershire*, was received. And, in the hope that my present effort will not be less welcome to my friends and fellow citizens,

I remain,

With every sentiment of gratitude,

Their obliged servant,

J. NOAKE.

Worcester, July, 1849.

P. S. Should any of my readers possess records, documents, or traditionary information, relative to one or more of the subjects embraced in this book, by kindly acquainting me with the same, they will enhance the value of the second edition (should my undertaking meet with that success), and my obligations will be duly acknowledged. Any well authenticated corrections will be likewise acceptable.

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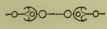
Worcester in Olden Times.



RECORDS OF THE CITY.

LOCAL municipal records in a few instances reach to the twelfth century, but usually they are not older than the fifteenth or sixteenth. Those belonging to the Worcester Corporation, now in the possession of the town clerk, extend no further than the year 1522. These valuable memorials of the past are in a good state of preservation, partly owing to the judicious care of C. Sidebottom, Esq., who, when he held the office of town clerk a few years ago, caused the books of the Chamber Orders, &c., to be carefully collected, arranged, and bound, and an index to be made, which is highly useful for reference.

The books which I have examined are the Book of Charters, the Chamber Orders, the Chamberlains' Accounts, the Book of Ordinances, the By-Law Book, and the Oaths Book. The Book of Charters is a modern copy, but the originals are still in the possession of the town clerk. The Order Books commence with 1522, having but few omissions of consequence till the year 1660, when, for several years, there occur loose sheets, bad writing, and frequently an entry of officers' names only without minutes. The volume containing the years 1669 to 1684

appears to be a rough draft only, the original being missing. The Chamberlains' Account Books commence with 1542. The volume from 1600 to 1623 is missing. With this exception, and some great irregularities in the accounts about the year 1753, the omissions are but trifling up to the present time. The volume commencing 1713 has received through its cover a bullet, which penetrated nearly to its centre. The Book of Ordinances is of vellum, the others I have mentioned being of paper. It contains, first, the ordinances of Edward IV, "made by command of the king and with the consent of the citizens, at a Yelde Marchant holden on *Sunday* (!) in the feaste of the Exaltacion of the Holy Cross." These ordinances are followed by those made in the 12th year of the reign of Henry VII, which include most of the former, with alterations and additions required by the progress of the times, and particularly as regarded the clothing trade, which had then arrived at greater prosperity. The enacting of these ordinances also took place on a Sunday. The By-Law Book commences early in the 17th century, and shows the erasures, amendments, and new laws, made from time time. The order for making the Book of Oaths was issued in 1679, but the only book of that name at present in existence is dated 1723. The penmanship in the older books is generally of a beautiful character, small, round, clear, and compact, as though the scribes valued not their consumption of time in comparison with their credit in caligraphy, nor had dreamt of an age of steam to come. The mode of writing numbers, or sums of money, was by Roman numerals, until about the year 1566, when Arabic figures first make their appearance, though very sparingly used for some years; and they were not carried out into columns, and added up, as in the present day, until the close of that century. No wonder that, prior to this time, the progress of arithmetic was slow, and the clerk of the audit found his task somewhat difficult. That functionary made a regular annual

charge for paper and counters: the latter being pieces in the shape of money, which he formerly used for counting or making calculations with. To this system the introduction of Arabic or, as some say, Indian numerals, put an end. Shakspeare alludes to these counters in *Othello*, a. i, s. 1—"This counter-cast." And again in *Cymbeline*, a. v—"It sums up thousands in a trice: you have no true debtor and creditor but it: of what 's past, is, and to come, the discharge. Your neck, sir, is pen, book, and counters." Again, in *Acolastus*, a comedy (1540)—"I wyl cast my counters, or with counters make all my reckenynges." The unnecessary use of ciphers (for example, "$00^{l}\ 01^{s}\ 02^{d}$") was not abandoned till about a century ago, since which time the style of writing gradually approximated to the rapid, economical, irregular, and less painstaking mode which prevails in the present day.

In addition to the above-named records, I have examined the books of some of the ancient trading companies, besides other original documents.

Charters.

"Lex jubet ea quæ facienda sunt"—Cicero.

TO describe the charters of a city is to write, in epitome, the history of the land; for in order to render intelligible the various grants, restrictions, and privileges, by which the local government of a city has been regulated from the earliest period embraced in existing records, it is necessary occasionally to glance at the altered conditions of the state, and the social changes constantly going on among the people, illustrating the general subject by the particular instance. Both a lack of space and of the needful qualification to treat of so grave a matter, demand, however, from me the utmost brevity in this section of the book.

Although the Romans occupied this island for nearly five hundred years, and left behind them abundant proof of their advanced civilization,* some relics of which are to be seen to this day, the Romano-British records are so scanty, that we know but little indeed beyond conjecture of the social condition of the people during that long and most important era of our history. There is no conclusive evidence that Worcester was a Roman station, although it is not likely that its advantageous position for the purpose of fortification could have been overlooked.

* Nennius tells us there were thirty-three beautiful cities, connected by excellent roads, which remained in occupation for centuries after the island had been abandoned by our rulers; and the *Roman Itinerary*, quoted by Richard of Cirencester, mentions ninety-two cities, of which thirty-two were celebrated.

Worfarnis, "first Chrysten Kynge of Medle England," of his "kinglie affeccon," is said to have granted the first charter to Worcester, by which he made it a city. Offa and Edgar enlarged and confirmed its privileges. In these Saxon times the revenue of the king was collected in each municipal town by the borough-reeve, or port-reeve, an officer not chosen by the king, but who was the elective head of the municipality. The office of the king itself was not positively hereditary. And herein was the difference between the comparative freedom of the Saxon institutions and the despotism and tyranny of the Norman times—a difference as between "the principle which recognized the nation at large as the original proprietor of the soil, and that which rests such absolute proprietorship exclusively in the Crown." Florence, a monk of Worcester, and Habingdon, a collector of Worcestershire antiquities, give the names of the Saxon viceroys of Worcester.

The Norman Conqueror placed over each town a bailiff of his own election, and often farmed these bailiwicks out to the highest bidder. These officers—aliens in blood, language, and feeling—rendered themselves so obnoxious, by their extortion, to the free spirit of the Saxons, that the latter prevailed with the cupidity of the Conqueror in obtaining charters by which they themselves undertook to pay even a greater annual rent than had been before received into the king's exchequer, on condition of the removal of these bailiffs. This is what is called fee-farm rent—which degrading relic of the feudal times still adheres to us like the old man to the shoulders of Sinbad; the fee-farm rent paid in the past year (1848) for the privileges exercised by the Worcester Corporation under the Crown, amounted to £24. 1s. 8d. We have no authentic account of the government of Worcester under William and his son Rufus; but it is supposed that Henry I and II each granted it a charter, the city to be governed by a constable. The first charter we have extant is that of

RICHARD I.

It is dated November 12, 1189. Cœur de Lion generously grants "to our burgesses of Worcester, that they and their successors may hold of us and our heirs the town of Worcester, for the rent of £24, so that they render not the aforesaid rent but at the Exchequer." This earliest existing charter of the city presents a striking contrast to the more modern acts and deeds of regal and legal personages, being so small that when folded up it may be put, seal and all, into a waistcoat pocket.

HENRY III.

This weak prince (whose good deeds were usually wrung from him by compulsion) granted to the city of Worcester a charter, dated March 17, 1227. The Norman "rental" is herein increased to £30—one half to be paid at Easter and the other at the Feast of St. Michael. The government was invested in two bailiffs chosen out of the corporation; and no king's bailiff or officer to intermeddle in the city. It granted a Guild Merchant, and that no one who was not in the guild should be allowed to make merchandize in the city; and any bondman having remained in the city a year and a day, and done scot and lot, to be free from his lord. It likewise granted to Worcester citizens exemption from tolls throughout England. By a charter from the same king, dated February 23, 1256, he granted to the city to have the return of writs and other privileges.

EDWARD III.

July 12, 1331, and April 2, 1376. Confirm the charters of Henry. Citizens not to be impleaded without the walls of the city, and the king's justices to hold their sessions in the city and not elsewhere in the county. This was a great concession towards civic independence.

RICHARD II.

March 29, 1395. This grants to the bailiffs of the city to be "justices of the peace of labourers and artificers," but not to hear cases of felony without license; conferred the power of attaching persons failing in their pleas, but with an exemption for the bishop and his tenants. Citizens to have to their own use the chattels called "Maynocure" (belonging to outlaws, felons, and fugitives.)*

PHILIP AND MARY.

1554. The citizens to have a certain market, with a house, and other customs and liberties to the same guild pertaining. Body corporate to consist of two bailiffs, two aldermen, two chamberlains, and citizens. Ancient rent to be paid to the king. "And further we will, and by these presents ordain, and of our more abundant grace grant, that for ever hereafter there be 24 men of the better and more worthy citizens who shall be called capital citizens and counsellors, and also 48 other men of the residents of the more worthy and discreet of the citizens, to be called capital citizens of the number of 48." Power to elect all officers. The sergeant-at-mace to carry the gilded mace, with the king's arms, before the bailiff, in all parts of the city, including St. Michael's and St. John's. The aldermen's staff (a silver mace) to be carried before the aldermen. But when the king and queen shall visit Worcester, a special reservation that the maces be carried before them, their heirs, and successors, as far as the limits of the county. Court of Record every week, with an exemption of John Bourne, of Battenhall, and heirs.† Three

* "*Mainour:*" to be taken with mainour is to be taken with the stolen articles in possession.

† At the Dissolution, Sir John Bourne obtained grants of Battenhall and other manors which had belonged to the Priory. He was one of the secretaries of state under Queen Mary, and a great enemy to the Reformation and the Protestant bishops. His nephew, Gilbert Bourne, was made a prebend of Worcester in 1541, and as he was preaching at St. Paul's,

markets per week, and four fairs yearly, with a Court of Pie-poudre.* Power to collect tolls during the fairs upon all merchandize sold or bought within and without the liberties of the city for seven miles round, with an exemption for John Bourne. No person in England to take tolls of Worcester citizens (except in London) on pain of being brought to the former city, till he have made satisfaction. Articles of food to come under the assize and assay. Power to raise militia. No stranger in the city to buy of another stranger, unless for their own families, and not to sell again; but "great men and nobles" exempt from this restriction. No citizen to be retained in the service of any nobleman or other person living out of the city, nor wear livery, on pain of losing his freedom. Two M.P.s to be chosen. Bailiffs, &c., to have custody of orphans' property. Power to collect tolls for the repair of bridges, gates, and defence. In the above charter the peculiar constitution of the body corporate of Worcester, as it was afterwards developed, first appears.

JAMES I.

October 2, 1622. Worcester to be a city and county of itself. Its government transferred from a bailiff to a mayor, with six aldermen, and citizens. In case of the king coming to Worcester, the mayor to carry the sword, and four aldermen to carry maces, before him. The mayor, &c., to be justices of the peace, to inquire into certain offences, in which "witchcraft, enchantment, and sorceries by magic art," were included.† County

London (1553), he asserted that Bishop Bonner had been unjustly deprived, which so offended some of his audience that a pistol was fired at him, and a dagger thrown, which stuck in the pillar of the pulpit!

* This was a Court for the settlement on the spot of disputes at the fairs, and was called "Pie-powder" because justice was done to any injured person before the dust of the fair was off his feet. Some say it was meant for a "court of pedlars," from the old French, *pied pulderaux*, "a travelling pedlar."

† James prided himself on being a *Malleus Mallificarum*, "The hammer of witches."

Court to be held monthly. Rents, services, and sums of money, reserved to the king.

The only remaining charter is that of

JAMES II.

The Stuarts were notorious for their attempts to undermine the constitution, and to obtain packed parliaments, by limiting, selecting, and interfering with the corporate bodies, who had been constituted the sole electors of parliamentary representatives, thus virtually disfranchising the burgesses. Charles II, and his weak and bigoted brother James, pushed this arbitrary system to an extremity. Commissions were appointed to "regulate" the corporations, which regulation consisted in ejecting every member who would not support the wretched policy of the sovereign. The franchises of London and other obnoxious corporations were seized, and others (among which was Worcester) were surrendered to the king. Even the judges prostituted their influence to aid this unconstitutional encroachment. It was said of Jefferies, on the northern circuit, that "he made the charters, like the walls of Jericho, fall down before him." Charles granted new charters, calculated to engross to himself still greater patronage and influence; and James II condescended, in the year 1684, to confer a charter upon Worcester, in which he not only diminished "the company of the 48" to 32, but reserved a power to himself to remove, at any time, the mayor, recorder, sheriff, town clerk, aldermen, or any of the corporation, by a simple declaration in council, without further process. In 1687 (the year of the king's visit to Worcester) the removal of the mayor and corporation, and the election of a new mayor, &c., are duly notified in the records. But the career of this the last of the ill-fated Stuarts was nearly at an end, and too late he attempted to regain popular favour, by issuing a proclamation to restore corporations to

their ancient rights. The Revolution followed, and the charters of Charles II and James II were laid aside. James's proclamation, for the restoration of ancient rights, was brought to Worcester on the 7th of October, 1688. At that time, of the old corporation which had been ejected, 5 out of the 24, and 7 of the 48, were dead, whose places were accordingly filled up. In December of the same year, when the Prince of Orange had landed in this country, and rendered openly apparent his design on the Crown, the Worcester corporation adopted the following resolution:

"We, the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriff, and Common Council, and Citizens of the City of Worcester, whose names are subscribed, do declare, that to our utmost endeavours, in our several stations and places, we will aid and assist his Highness the Prince of Orange, and all those that shall oppose the desperate attempts and conspiracies of the Papists and their adherents; and to the hazard of our lives will preserve his Majesty's most sacred person, uphold the Protestant religion by law established, and maintain the ancient laws and liberties of this kingdom."

This declaration was made at a period when to speak out more plainly would probably have cost the Worcester corporators their heads. They, therefore, wisely qualified their detestation of James's miserable policy with an assurance of protection to his "most sacred person."

From this brief outline of the charters of our city we are presented, in epitome, with the most prominent points of the progressive state of English society. The municipal organization and the free and liberal spirit of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty stand out in bold contrast to the serfdom and tyranny established by the Conquest—antagonistic elements, of which Harold and William were the types. We find the people first awaking from the paralysing influences of that event when Simon de Montfort led the national resistance to the tyranny of Henry III, and obtained a representative parliament, with also local government

and trading privileges. This was strictly the origin of corporations in the modern sense of the word; for the guilds, or trading companies, into which the whole communities of large towns had been divided, first began, at the latter end of the reign of Edward III, to choose certain persons to be a council to advise with the bailiff and aldermen; and thus gradually was superseded the Saxon "folk-mote," or assemblage of the whole people in the common hall, to discuss municipal matters—a proceeding which, if we are to judge from public meetings even of the present day, must have been attended with a greater show of public license than of intrinsic advantage or convenience. In London, the liverymen (*i. e.*, the freemen who belong to the trading companies) still elect the mayor and other officers. We then trace the development of municipal independence until it was undermined by the Stuarts, and, after repeated struggles, regained by the strong arm of popular right. The consideration of the Reform Bill and Corporations Act brings us up to our own time, but the important effects of those measures may be perhaps best estimated by a comparison of Worcester as it now is, with Worcester as it was in "the olden time," and such it will be my object to afford in the following pages.

Constitution of Old Corporations.

"O domus antiqua, quam dispari domino dominaris!"—CICERO.

THE election of their principal officers took place annually, on the Monday after the Feast of St. Michael (September 29). At the time of the visit of the Municipal Commissioners these annual elections were on the Monday after St. Bartholomew's Day. With reference to this custom Brand* observes that—"It has long been and still continues the custom at this time of the year, or thereabouts, to elect the governors of towns and cities, the civil guardians of the peace of men, perhaps, as Bourn supposes, because the feast of angels naturally enough brings to our minds the old opinion of tutelar spirits who have, or are thought to have, the particular charge of certain bodies of men, or districts of country." The appointment of auditors did not take place till the week after Allhallow Day (All Saints, or November 1), probably because the chamberlains' and other accounts were made up to that day.

All the meetings of the body were made with reference to some festival or saint's day, and it is probable that some of those days were likewise commemorated by attending the service of the church, and wearing suitable livery. In the chamberlains' accounts, early in the reign of Elizabeth, occurs this entry:

* See Bohn's excellent edition of *Brand's Popular Antiquities*, just published.

"Item—recovered of Thos. ———— for a forfeiture for not wearing his linsey gowne upon St. Steven's day, 2s 4d."

St. Stephen, being the first martyr for Christianity, was held in especial remembrance long after the Reformation. In 1574 the corporation made an order that "The ancient meeting of St. Stephen's day be henceforth kept in the council chamber," instead of the Trinity-hall; and in 1587 the meeting was altogether discontinued.

The annual election day was commemorated by plentiful libations at the hall, and a sermon at St. Helen's church. In the year 1540 the following order was made:

"Hit ys agrede that the pson that hereaftr shal be chosen into the nmber of the xxiiij* do pay no more to thosse that doth electe hym but onli appottell [two quarts] and not above, and they to have the pottell appesse that be at the eleccon and noo other."

No doubt the corporators of those days (who were themselves the electors) deemed this restriction, of two quarts per man, a most meritorious instance of self-denial. At all events this furnishes us with something like a clue as to what was considered a measure of moderate drinking three centuries ago. The first notice of the election sermon occurs early in the reign of Elizabeth:

"To the parson of St. Helen's, money due for an old custom for preaching the eleccion sermon in his church, 2s."

St. Helen's has been, from time immemorial, considered the mother church, which (as the cathedral belonged to another corporate body, the dean and chapter) was considered, *par excellence*, the church of the corporation. Hence, notwithstanding the latter body attended the cathedral on all other state occasions, it is probable, from the above, that St. Helen's

* The number 24, it will be remembered, represents the "prime and modern capital citizens and counsellors," and 48 the "capital citizens" simply (see the chapter on Charters). The 48 probably acted as assistants.

was selected at the time of the election. In the year 1723 the chamberlains were ordered to "wait on the Rev. Mr. Thomas and return him the thanks of the whole body for preaching the election sermon, and to request him to print the same;" and in 1729 the fee to the preacher had increased to a guinea.

The sergeants, at their election, were instructed "duly to give their attendance with good and due reverence to the bailiff, from morning till night, as well wholy dayes as worken dayes, for the honour of the seid city and the worship of the seid baills, having their fees appointed and their borde with them, and at no time to depart without licence of the baillies; and that they have in reverence as many as bythe of the counsell chamber." The ancient magnates were exceedingly jealous of their dignity: many by-laws were framed for the punishment and expulsion of obstinate members and avengement of insults; and in the reign of Elizabeth, one John Butcher suffered six days' imprisonment "for calling Messrs. Baylies 'hedge* baylies.'"

A great "cofur" (or chest), having five locks and keys, which for caution sake were kept in the custody of several individuals, was the receptacle of the corporate muniments, &c., and it was appointed of old that the bailiffs, aldermen, chamberlains, "and a lernyd man w^t them, making feith to keep hur counsell, shall goo to the seid comyn coofur at the feeast of Seynt Mychell tharkangell next following," to see that the deeds, rents paid, &c., were correct, and then the keys were to be delivered up to their successors; also that "two worshipful and full discrete persons of the 24, and sadd and discrete persons of the 48, be elected to sete with the auditors in tyme of the audyte as jugges [judges] to hear the accounts; and the circute of the franches [perambulations]† be done yearly the morrow after the election day."

* A term of contempt.

† "At the Reformation, when all processions were abolished by reason of the abuse of them, an order was made for retaining the perambulation of the circuits of parishes"—*Wheatley.*

The revenues of the corporation were derived from the fines on renewals, fines paid on the admission of freemen and new members, from fees, occasional rating, and rents of property, which, up to the period of the Municipal Act in 1835, were considered by the corporation as strictly personal property. The average revenue at that period was estimated at £2,000 a year. In 1611, the Longdon estate, valued at £10 per annum, was purchased for the poor. Extraordinary sums were sometimes raised from the "24 and 48" and sometimes by special taxation, in which case the collectors were usually ordered "to take care of the poor." In the time of Elizabeth, one "Thomas Haywood was elected husbande for the citie as long as this house think it good." The onerous duties of this official must not be estimated in connection with the modern interpretation of the word husband, as I suppose nothing more was meant than that he should be a collector of the corporation's rents, &c., and to manage them honestly and well. About the year 1625 it was ordered—

"That the sheriff of the city do always pay the fee-farm rent to the king, also the yearly rent to the bishop, and the town clerk's fee," to defray which he was to receive "the toll and custom of the city and the yearly benefit of St. John's faire, and yearly to *bring his quietus* for the discharge of his accounts in the chamber."

Before the existence of standing armies, one of the principal duties of corporations was to furnish troops for the service of the king whenever occasion required. The corporation of Worcester were instructed to harness a certain number of men, and "to appoint a wise, grave, and sad person of their number to be captain." A portion of the troops was raised at the cost of the corporation, and the rest allotted proportionately to be provided by the seven wards (St. Andrew's and St. Clement's parishes then forming two wards). It was a special instruction that the "harness" for these soldiers should "be made to fit their bodies," at the peril of all who had a finger in the transaction.

The most distinctive features of the old, as compared with new corporations, will be further detailed in the course of this work. They kept a cook, and ate, drank, and smoked, at the public expense, on all public occasions, whether of business or pleasure. Their love of ceremonial was great, and in their polity and practice they exhibited an *esprit de corps* which reminds one of a family compact, or well cemented fraternity. They attended the burial of their deceased brethren ; they had plays performed in their hall, and the company of waits attended at their table. They coined money and elected members of parliament. They were themselves self-elected, and rigidly excluded all dissenters. They provided a bull for baiting, and a ducking-stool for scolds. They had the power of assize and assay ; the rights of citizenship, and of trade and commerce, lay at their mercy ; and not a barrel of ale, brewed by publican or sinner, but was subject to a visit from their inquisitorial taster. They kept a bowling green for their own diversion, and invested their own and the public money in lotteries. All this, and much more, I shall be enabled to prove and to illustrate. The only instance of an attempt at self-reformation, which the corporation records exhibit, is the following order, dated 1582 :

"Whereas the acts of the yeld are now for the most part out of use, being repugnant to the laws of the realm, yet as the greater part of them are learned and discreetly penned, ordered, that a competent number of the 24 and 48 do weekly assemble in the council chamber and deliberately consider of such acts as are consonant with the laws of the realm, to be renewed and practised in this city as occasion shall be offered."

For a more technical description of the constitution and powers of the old corporation see the Report of the Municipal Commissioners in another part of this work.

Trading Regulations.

"Hence charter'd boroughs are such public plagues;
And burghers, men immaculate perhaps
In all their private functions, once combined,
Become a loathsome body, only fit
For dissolution, hurtful to the main.
Hence merchants, unimpeachable of sin
Against the charities of domestic life,
Incorporated, seem at once to lose
Their nature." THE TASK.

FROM the most remote antiquity, fixed and stringent regulations were laid on trade and commerce in this country. The freemen of a city or town had alone the right to trade there, or to have a voice in the affairs of the borough; but there was some show of justice in this when they who enjoyed these privileges exclusively supported the local burdens. No stranger or temporary resident in a town could possess a vote, or a right to pursue his trade there, but at the same time he was free from regular taxation. The freemen themselves were sworn to dwell in the city; or if absent for a twelvemonth, to be disenfranchised and their names posted up in the Tolsey, for not paying scot and lot. Freedom was secured by birth, marriage, or a prescribed apprenticeship to a trade under the auspices of a guild or trading company. It was also acquired by the payment of a heavy fine, as likewise by favour or for services rendered. Public men and successful commanders were often presented with the freedom of cities; and in the year 1705 Thomas White was admitted a freeman "for

making a handsome effigie of the queen, to the Mayor's liking." In the ninth year of Elizabeth, one Thomas Anthonye was admitted a freeman of Worcester on account of his being an expert workman as a smith, of which craft the city was then destitute. Nathaniel Treherne, merchant, was admitted, 1655, he having "promised to bestow upon this city a silver sword, to be borne before the mayor," and the scribe adds, that "it appeared to be a very considerable sword." I have already alluded to the guilds and their connection with the ruling corporate body. The increase of population, and the progress of wealth and the arts, induced the subdivision of the general community into these trading companies, into which fraternities the inhabitants were enrolled. Each had the power of making by-laws for the regulation of its particular trade, and had its common property and a hall for the transaction of matters pertaining to the craft. The hall of the Holy Trinity (an ancient religious establishment) which, after the Dissolution, fell into private hands, was granted to the clothiers' company (9 Jac. R.) This edifice contained a number of large rooms, which were assigned separately to the trading companies, according to their importance. The following chamber order was passed in the thirty-first year of Henry VIII:

"Hytt ys agreyd that all occupacons wtin thys cytie that dothe assemble at the Trynety-hall shall yeld and paye yerly unto the clarke of the Trynety ffor the tyme beynge, ffor makynge clene the howsses and other thyngs, iiij^{d} sterlynge; and all occupacions off the seid cytie to have theyr assemble w^{t}out any cont^{r}dyccion or int^{r}ppcion; and the shoemakers to have ffor they^{r} assemble the chamber there ov^{r} the prlour."

It appears that some and probably all the trades paid an annual acknowledgment to the clothiers' company for the use and occupation of a portion of the hall, while the kitchen was open to each and every company for the purpose of cooking.

Towards the close of the last century the trading companies

declined, owing to the gradual admission of strangers to trade in the city—a virtual breaking up of the very foundation of those companies—and the Trinity-hall, (which had long ceased to be of much use to the companies, their meetings being almost always held at inns, while the hall was let to other parties, and occasionally used by the players, and also to hold the assizes), was sold by the clothiers in the year 1796, for the sum of £185, to the late Mr. Tymbs, who sold it to Mr. Freame; and the late Mr. T. Carden, treasurer to the company, invested the money in the Funds; the hall was then partly pulled down and modernized, and is now occupied by Messrs. Freame (sons of the last named purchaser) as warehouses for the cabinet and upholstery departments of their business. The only portion of the old edifice now remaining is the hall used by the cordwainers. The original door of this room is standing, and bears faint traces of the words "Cordwainers' Hall" painted on it. The ceiling is divided into compartments by beams, which are very rudely moulded at the edges; the floor remains firm and good, but the walls are hid with modern paper. The principal hall was a lofty and spacious room with a dais at one end, having seats on it with a canopy over the centre seat. The carvings taken from the Trinity-hall, at the time of its being dismantled, were sold, as I am informed, for no less than £180 to some parties in London, although the builder had been permitted to take them away as lumber.

I now proceed to give some account of the nature and regulations of the various trading companies, premising that a description of the plays and pageants in connection with the trades will be found in the chapter devoted to "Plays and Pageants."

THE CLOTHIERS' COMPANY,

of "Weavers, Walkers, and Clothiers," was in existence in the time of Henry VI, and subsequently incorporated by Henry VIII, as also by Elizabeth. Under the latter charter, dated 23rd Sep-

tember, 1590, the company is still governed. The great prosperity of this manufacture in the time of Henry VIII may be estimated from the observation of Leland, who says—"The wealthe of the town of Worcester standeth most by draperinge, and no towne in Englande at this present tyme maketh so many cloaths yearly as this towne doth." It had formerly employed 8,000 persons, but at the time of Queen Elizabeth's visit that number was reduced by one-half. The queen's charter, however, so restored the trade, that soon afterwards 6,000 persons were employed here, and twice that number in the neighbourhood. This corporate body was not only the most important and influential of all the ancient trading companies in this city, but as being the only one now remaining—the last relic of a system departed for ever—it claims the first and foremost consideration in this chapter. The charter of Elizabeth constituted the company "one body corporate and politick, by the name of master, wardens, and comonalty," to be able to plead and be impleaded, purchase and sell land and other property and rights, and to have a common seal; there were to be one master and four wardens; these officers to be chosen alternately, and equally, from the weavers and walkers; the commonalty, or assistants, were to be thirty in number. The company to have a council-house, powers of convocation, and to enact laws for the regulation of the trade, with power to fine and imprison. The annual meeting to be held on "the Fryday next after Penticoste," when the master and wardens were to be elected; and the oaths were subsequently administered. Queen Elizabeth also granted the company a royal flag, with her arms, and a flag with the arms of the company.

By the ancient regulations of the clothiers, prior to the reign of Elizabeth, wool was weighed, bought, and sold, in the "Yeld-hall," certain pecuniary advantages in the fees for weighing being afforded to citizen buyers. The latter commenced buying

at "ten of the bell," but strangers not till eleven, on certain pains and penalties. In this trade the truck system prevailed as far back as Henry VII, when heavy penalties were laid upon those clothiers who paid their workmen in "mercery, vitayll, or by other means, and not in silver, that hath growen to the grete hurt of the pore coman'ltie." The workmen were allowed to make a certain quantity of cloth for the use of their own families, but not to sell it to the injury of the drapers' craft, except under certain restrictions. Searchers were appointed, whose duty it was to inspect every piece of cloth made, to see that the manufacture was "good and sufficient, according to the fineness of the 'yern.'" The article of wool was not allowed to be sold to any female, unless she was a widow, but men only were deemed competent to transact business!

The regulations laid down for the guidance of the trade were very numerous and minute; but the moving principle of this, as of other trading companies, was to prevent the admission of any person to trade in the city who had not served seven years to his business, or was a "foreigner" (*i. e.* not a freeman). In the present instance a "foreign" weaver was not even allowed to fetch yarn out of the city; and no foreign journeyman was to be employed before a citizen, without the consent of the master and wardens, bringing a testimonial with him of the usual servitude, and likewise paying 8d. to the poor. Apprentices and journeymen who left their employ without due leave were struck out of the roll, and deprived of all the advantages of membership. Perjured persons were likewise to be turned out of the company. The funerals of deceased members were attended by the whole company, on pain of fine. No one was allowed to go to law with another, but the master and wardens decided any dispute. There was a quarterly subscription for distressed members; and masters who neglected to pay wages were fined. Weaving in harvest time was strictly prohibited,

in order to give the poorer workpeople a chance of assisting at the ingathering of the crops. The company had power to levy an assessment on each loom in the city, when required to pay off debts, or to meet any emergency. The meetings were and are still held quarterly; and the company regularly attended the mayor, corporation, &c., in procession, on the 29th of May, stipulating not to pay more than half-a-guinea each company (weavers and walkers) for drums and ribbons. On one occasion, however, I observe the sum of 50s. was granted for that purpose, on a coronation day. In the 13th Car. II, an act or charter was passed "for the better suppressing of the abuses and disorders in making and vending woollen cloths." By that statute, the white cloth of Worcester was not allowed to be sent to London till it had been viewed by the proper officers in this city, nor was any to be sold in London, but at the "Worcester-hall in Blackwell-hall," under a penalty of 20s. Factors were employed, who sold the article, by commission, in London; and a special enactment was framed for their more strict regulation, and "to restore Blackwell-hall to the use of the Worcester clothiers."

The old books belonging to this company are still in the possession of the high master. The "Book of Orders, Constitutions, and Ordinances," appears to have been drawn up soon after the granting of the charter by Elizabeth. On the inner part of the cover of this book is this invocation—"Lord bles all that beelong too this book." The book for the enrolment of apprentices dates from 1587 to 1635, and in it the reader is informed that "This booke was new bounde in ye year of our Lord God 1661." The minute and order books contain, among a vast quantity of routine business entries, the following:

1711.—"The trades being farr in debt, ordered that every master that shall be admitted into the said society shall pay double the sume that was usually paid, viz., £2. 13s. 4d., besides stamps and fees."

1715.—"At a convocation held at the Trinity Hall, by the major part of the company, it was ordered that a petition be drawn, and the common seal affixed thereto, and sent up to ye House of Commons, praying y^t cocheneale may be brought in upon other bottoms, &c., and to be sent to Mr. Hodgkins, with a letter of thanks to him and ye merchants, for their kind present of 40 odd pounds to the poor clothiers."

1718.—"The petition of the master, wardens, and assistants of the incorporate company of clothiers, in the city of Worcester, sheweth, that the Turky company have very often made orders and entered into an agreement amongst themselves to restrain and prevent any ships from going off for Turky, with woollen manufacture, under such a time as they think fitt to appoint, which is a very great discouragement to the cloathing trade, by keeping a dead stock upon hand for so long a time, that it makes us uncapable of imploying the poore, and that great quantities of bullion hath been sent to buy silke and other commodities, which lessens the exportation of our cloth: therefore humbly pray this honourable house to lay a restraint upon their sending away bullion of any kind, and to prevent such unreasonable agreements for the future in such a manner as to your great wisdomes shal think meete; and that there may be a shipping for the future, at least one in twelve months, or at the liberty and choice of any merchant to goe when he thinks most to his advantage—and y^r petitioners, &c."

1725.—"Ordered, that the master do not spend more than 40s. at any entertainment without an order from the company, except at elections of factors, when they may expend what may be thought proper, so that it be done with all possible frugality."

1734.—"Whereas, very lately, some cloth, the property of Mr. E. Cookesey, was feloniously stole or taken from off the tentors, in order therefore that the aggressor or aggressors may be brought to justice, and for detecting such villainy for the future, it is hereby ordered, that the company shall be at the expense not only of publishing the same in the *Worcester Postman*, but also of printing a sufficient number of advertisements (handbills) to be distributed about the country, so that such number do not exceed 500."

1762.—"Ordered, that the clerk do attend the speaker, with the charters, by-laws, books, and papers, as required by the summons from E. Bacon, chairman to the committee of privileges and elections."

1804.—It was determined to discontinue the ancient custom of supping at the quarterly meetings, and to substitute two dinners in the year, one at Midsummer and the other at Christmas.

The decay of the clothing trade is said to have been owing to the "roguery of the manufacturers, who stretched their cloths." The reason why this trading company did not totally expire, after the example of others, was that a great quantity of landed and other property was in its hands, most of which had been left by wealthy clothiers to be distributed to the poor and lent without interest to industrious young men embarking in trade. It was therefore found necessary, when the clothing trade left this city, that the incorporated body should be continued, if for no other purpose than the administration of these funds. Hence, like the masonic lodges, the clothiers' company is of necessity no longer composed of members of the craft, but of the *élite* of the gentlemen and professional men of the city, to whom it offers the means of friendly and convivial reunion. The first notice of any person having been admitted who did not belong to the craft was in the year 1780, when one Mr. Gwinnell, a cork-cutter, was admitted into the company; but in 1801, when the Rev. Mr. Bedford applied for admission, doubts were expressed as to the propriety of electing a clergyman into what is considered a trading company, and on a ballot the application was negatived. The following is a list of the present members:

John Parker, Esq., High Master, elected 1834.

Francis Hooper, Esq.	Charles Sidebottom, Esq.
John Dent, Esq.	Mr. William Stallard.
H. B. Tymbs, Esq.	Mr. J. M. Allcroft.
Matthew Pierpoint, Esq.	John M. Gutch, Esq.
J. H. Clifton, Esq.	Mr. Thomas Hyde.
Mr. James Chamberlain.	Richard Yapp, Esq.
William Dent, Esq.	Mr. Thomas Leonard.
Dr. Malden.	J. W. Isaac, Esq.
Sir Edmund H. Lechmere.	Dr. Nash.
Mr. John Brooke Hyde.	Mr. John Tymbs.

Mr. William Powell.
John Owen, Esq.
Mr. J. W. Lea.
Mr. Robert Allies.
Thomas G. Curtler, Esq.
Mr. Alfred C. Hooper.
Mr. William Stallard, jun.
Mr. H. D. Carden.
Mr. Gervase Clifton.
Mr. W. S. P. Hughes.
Mr. Thomas Barneby.
Captain Lavie.
Mr. William Barnes.

The vacancy occasioned by the lamented death of Sir Anthony Lechmere is not yet filled up.

On the occasion (in March last) of the appointment of J. Dent, Esq., as high sheriff for this county, it having been many years since that a member of this company had been elected to that high office, the company went in procession with the sheriff and the judges to the cathedral, on which occasion they carried new and handsome flags, bearing the royal arms of Queen Elizabeth and those of the company. Mr. Dent was elected a member of this company in 1818, and, with the exception of F. Hooper, Esq., is the oldest member of the body.

The charities and benevolences placed at the disposal of the company were, as I have before stated, very great in amount, and consisted, for the most part, of sums to be lent to industrious young clothiers, without interest, and also for the distribution of coats and bread to the poor. The bread was usually given away on Good Friday, and the coats at other times; the recipients of the latter being expected to attend the quarterly meeting next after the gift, and to return thanks. One of these donors (Alderman John Nash, who made his will in 1661) desired that it should be publicly read every year, for ever, on the first Tuesday in Lent, by the town clerk, who was to have 5s. for his pains. But I suppose that, like the great bulk of the charity property, this is lost, owing partly to the fact of young tradesmen, to whom sums of money had been lent, having failed, together with their sureties. By the regulations, as they at present stand, the

company still continue the following distributions:—In conformity with the will of Francis Chetle (who appears to have been a warden in the years 1695 and 1696), a good cloth coat, as well to the company's beadles as to poor and approved objects, at the Michaelmas quarter meeting; five guineas annually to the Infirmary, and two guineas to the Dispensary; 52s. in bread to the poor, recommended by the high master, on Good Friday. The sum of 40s., usually paid by the Worcester corporation on St. Thomas's Day, in portions of half-a-crown each, to sixteen poor descendants of clothiers, was discontinued under the Municipal Act. In the year 1841 the company possessed a funded property of nearly £1,600 in the Three per Cents.

Among the relics of antiquity in the possession of the master are the following:—The charter of Elizabeth, on vellum, beautifully emblazoned with the great seal of England, attached by a twisted silken cord, and enclosed in a box of equal antiquity. Two green silk flags, bearing date 1540 and 1541, and inscribed "Henry VIII by the grace of God King of Ingland and of France, Lorde of Ireland, Defender of the Faythe, and immediately under God supreme Hed of the Church of Ingland." A double silver seal, dated 1655, with a ring attached for a string to put round the neck of the high master when he gives his toasts; at one end of the seal are the arms of the city, and at the other the weavers impaling the clothiers. Two very ancient yard measures (one much shorter than the other, by the bye), borne by the beadles when in procession. A parchment document—"The original By-laws by Act of Henry VI, legalized by two judges of assize," its border most splendidly emblazoned. Another curious document, being a receipt from the Herald College for fees paid for registering the armorial ensigns of the company at the visitation in 1682. Two processional shields, covered with hides. On one are painted the weavers' arms—azure, on a chevron argent between three

leopards' heads Or, each having a shuttle of the last, as many rose gules seeded of the third, barbed, vert. Crest, on a wreath, a leopard's head Or, ducally crowned gules; in his mouth a shuttle of the first; supporters, two wiverns with wings indorsed ermine purfled Or, on each wing a rose gules, seeded or barbed, vert. Motto—"Weave truth with trust." The arms were granted in 1487, confirmed 1590; supporters granted in 1616, approved 1634. On the other shield are painted the cloth workers' arms—Sable, a chevron ermine between two habicks in chief argent, and a teazle in base slipped Or. Crest on a mount vert, a ram statant Or (or rather proper), horns Or; supporters, two griffins' tongues and claws gules. Motto—"My trust is in God alone." The last of the interesting objects belonging to this company is a pall, formerly used at the funeral of deceased members. It is composed of alternate stripes of embroidered velvet and tapestry. The embroidering on the velvet consists of *fleurs-de-lis*, eagles, double-headed, displayed; pine apples [query, teazles], and angels with expanded wings, standing on wheels [query, St. Catherine]. The tapestry consists of figures of saints and passages from scripture history; at the sides are four shields of arms or devices, emblematical of the manufacture of cloth.* It was suggested by Miss Agnes Strickland, during her recent visit to Worcester (when the author had the pleasure of pointing out to that distinguished lady some of the few antiquities of the city) that this pall might be a mortuary cloth used at Prince Arthur's funeral; that the embroidery is Spanish; that the pine apple, or teazle, is a pomegranate; the purple, the imperial colour; and that the wheels are Catherine wheels, introduced into the arms through Prince Arthur's marriage with Catherine of Arragon. Mr. Gutch states that this opinion is strengthened by a MS. of the

* The altar cloth in Winchcombe church bears a close resemblance to this pall.

time in the College of Arms, published in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, which details the particulars connected with the arrival of Queen Catherine in England, the pageants at her marriage with Prince Arthur, and his decease, six months afterwards, at Ludlow, including the offering of palls of cloth of gold to the corse by the lords mourners.

THE CORDWAINERS

were incorporated by Henry VII, in 1504. It was ordained by the mayor, &c., "as by the whole consent of the fellowship of cordwayners and corvisers," that yearly, at the Trinity-hall, should be chosen, "by the election of most voices," on the Tuesday next after St. Martin's day, one master and two wardens, and three other "discreet persons to be associated with them," to aid and counsel them on all matters connected with the trade. All to be present at every congregation of the said company, on pain of 3s. 4d. These officers to yield up to their successors "a true reckoning and accompte of all money, amerciaments, duties, profits, arrearages, books," &c. The "beddle" to summon the masters to assemble four times a year "to discuss all matters touching the common wealth of the fellowship, and of offences or faults of the society, and to redress and reform misdemeanours." Every apprentice of the said occupation, having served his whole term, and desiring to become a master, "being of good name and fame, and sufficient in cunninge or knowledge," to be admitted on paying 3s. 4d. for the use of the fellowship. None to presume to carry on his trade as a master unless he had served seven years, on pain of 40s. for every offending month, and other punishments. "And that no master shall take any apprentice known to be a thiefe, or one of evill conversation, and bee not born out of the obeysance of our Sovereign Lord King Charles, his heirs and successors." When a lad had been on trial for a month, the master was

bound to produce an indenture, to be shown to the master and wardens of the craft, which was then sealed, *and signed with the goat's head.** The lad's master to pay 2s. 6d. for the seal, and the apprentice to be afterwards enrolled (before the mayor and aldermen). There was a clerk to the fellowship, who drew up all indentures and other legal documents. An irregularity prevailed with regard to the election of officers in this and other companies, for while in some they were nominated by the mayor and aldermen, and took their oaths of office before them, in others they were elected either by the votes of the particular fraternity or by the retiring officers, before whom they also took the oaths. The master and wardens possessed the power of inflicting imprisonment and fines, the latter being spent on the poor of each "mystery," and on the ordinary expenses of the company.

THE BUTCHERS

were incorporated by James I, in 1604. From very early times they were restricted in the sphere of their avocations to two places—from the Guildhall door to St. Helen's church, and from St. Nicholas' churchyard to the Cross. If any imprudent knight of the cleaver wandered in the pursuit of his business beyond these limits he was pounced upon. An instance occurs in the 37th of Elizabeth:

"Item—of Henery Clarke, haberdasher, for suffering the bootcher to sell flesshe before his shoppe, 6s 8d."

Orders were also issued "to make their stallys and bords close unto their shopps, after the use and ordre in London." The "foreign" [country] butchers were admitted into the city only by sufferance, and then allowed to tarry and sell their flesh but up to a certain hour in the afternoon. A price was fixed

* This was probably the company's mark or seal. I believe that the leather used by the cordwainers (Cordovan leather) was made of goats' skins.

upon tallow, and no butcher was allowed to sell it to a "stranger," nor was any citizen permitted to convey it forth of the city, on pain of severe penalties. Any barker [currier] might buy hides of a butcher on any day in the week, but to strangers they were not to be sold or bought at the doors or in the streets, but only at the market place at "Allhallow Well," on the market days, and that, too, within certain limited hours. Butchers not to slaughter their cattle and pigs in the streets. It is a curious fact, that butchers and shoemakers who had served the office of bailiff (or mayor) were not permitted ever after to carry on their trades again in their own name in this city. The restriction does not appear to have been applied to any other trade.

BARBERS AND TALLOW CHANDLERS.

Green says that the first-named formed a fellowship very early, and were incorporated with the last in 1677. I think, however, that the word is an error, and that it should have been "barkers" [curriers.] No chandler was allowed to sell more than 12 lbs. of candles in one week to any "forriner;" and a special injunction was made against melting tallow near any "fore street."

GLOVERS, PURSERS, POUCH MAKERS, AND POYNTERS,

were incorporated 1497, and united with the

TANNERS, SADDLERS, AND PEWTERERS,

in 1664. This is on the authority of Green; but the chamber books declare that the tanners, pewterers, and plumbers, were incorporated with the glovers and whittawers in 1643, on paying £5 to the corporation. By the old documents belonging to this company, still in the possession of Mr. Burlingham of this city, I find that in 1561 the company was denominated "glovers, poche-makers, and pursers;" in 1661 its ranks included the somewhat heterogeneous mixture of "glovers, whittawers, tanners, pouch-makers, pursers, sadlers, pewterers, braisiers,

and plummers;" and in 1696 and 1737, mention is made only of "glovers, tanners, pewterers, and sadlers." The documents above alluded to, which Mr. Burlingham has kindly allowed me to inspect, consist of—1. Confirmation by the judges of assize (dated 1561) of the by-laws and regulations allowed for this company by the Worcester chamber. This deed is on parchment, having a small metal-bound seal, the impression on which is defaced, and is signed by Edward Saunders, chief baron, and Thomas Carns, sergeant of assize. Chambers (one of our local historians) has made some ludicrous errors with regard to this deed, and among the rest he states (quoting the language of the document), the learned judges have "set their seals upon it in arnest;" when, upon a closer inspection, he would have found that the words in question are "geven in o^r circuyt." 2. A copy of laws made or allowed by the mayor and corporation in the year 1661. The document is dated in the 14th year of Charles II, or "1661." This of course was blinking the period of the Commonwealth. Sir R. Hide and Sir Wadham Windham, as judges of assize, ratified these laws. 3. A deed or agreement, dated 1696, and signed by thirty-six members of the company, consenting to and enforcing certain penalties upon all who omitted regular attendance at the quarterly meetings. These fines were afterwards a prolific source of income. 4. A book, commencing about 1570 and ending 1662, containing names of members admitted, apprentices enrolled, the balances of cash handed over to each new steward yearly, and the business transacted at the meetings, which were held generally at the Mercers' Hall, but occasionally at some "mug house." There is nothing noticeable in this book, except the fact therein proved, that for more than two centuries ago the glovers of this city had occasion to cry out, with the man in the fable—"There 's nothing like leather." The following order was made by the company in the year 1642:

"Att this assemblie it is ordered by the stewarde, the associate, and the rest of the company then present, that noe masters of the company of glovers within this citty, nor any of their journeymen, servants, or apprentices, nor any other person or persons by their meanes, consents, or procurement, shall att any tyme or tymes after the makinge of this order, shall not cutt nor make, nor cause to be cutte or made, any gloves or half gloves, or cutt fingred gloves, of lynnen, cloth, or *fustian* (!), uppon payne of forfeitinge for every such defaulte the some of sixe shillinges and eight-pence, to be payde to the stewardes for the tyme beinge, for the use of the said felloeshippe. And if any jorneymen doe make any breache of this order, being lawfully warned by their master not so to doe, that then noe such journeymen makinge defaulte shall from henceforth be ymployed in any worke by any master of this company."

Among the ancient rules of this guild was one prohibiting the use of sheepskins for saddles, shoes, &c., as is presumed, on account of their scarcity.

The glove trade at the commencement of the present century was in a flourishing condition, but has recently much fallen off. In the year 1825, 30,000 persons were employed in the leather glove trade in this and parts of the adjacent counties. The introduction of French gloves, and the general use of silk, thread, and worsted, have, however, much reduced the trade; and it is estimated that at present the number employed (including the country sewers) is less than 8,000, and the master manufacturers of Worcester have decreased from 140 to less than 40.

CURRIERS

were ordered to keep within doors, and *not carry on their craft in the streets* (!) and peculiar pains were taken to prevent the nuisances experienced in the various processes of preparing skins for manufacture. With regard to

BRAZIERS AND PEWTERERS,

they (strangers), having hawked their ware within the city, "to the grete disceyte of the kyng's liege people, both in ther ware

and wyght of the same," were prohibited from selling except on Saturdays and fair times in the Yeldhall, paying 2d. for their standing on the former occasion, and 4d. on the latter, as also did the glovers and yremongers, the drapers and "lynnyngmen."

BAKERS

were incorporated in 1528. The most strict surveillance was kept up over the crafts of baking and brewing, as to the limitations of time and place for the purchase of grain and flour. In 1622 an order was made that "all barley and malt should be sold in the market, and not at the key-head; and all persons buying barley to carry to Bewdley by water, in great quantities, be restrained in that behalfe." The stewards of the bakers' craft received from the corporation every Saturday the assize and weight of the bread for the following week, regulated according to the price of corn. The mayor and aldermen attended, at monthly or fortnightly intervals, at the Tolsey, in the Corn Market, for the purpose of weighing bread, butter, and other articles; and the chamberlains' accounts are swollen with the charges for ale, meat, and tobacco, consumed by his worship and his compeers in their inquisitorial capacity. No baker was allowed to have more than one person for one house to buy corn at any one market day. In the time of Elizabeth they were strictly confined to the statute of Winchester, and sold their bread at a 1d. per loaf. No baker who had given up business was allowed to take to it again on prospect of benefiting by the increased price of corn. No person to make Wichbold cake. The cakes of any "forriner" found in the city to be forfeited; and no innholder to take in foreigners' cakes or buns to sell. There was actually an order made in 1641, constituting it an offence for the Worcester bakers to make "spiced bread or short cakes" inasmuch as it "enhaunced the price of butter." How oddly would this sound in the ears of the present generation! Similar regulations were enforced against

BREWERS.

In the time of Henry VII grievous complaint was made of the said brewers, for having impoverished the husbandmen, and enhanced the price of wood, by their great malt-making, and they were then confined to the use of but one kiln each. In the following reign an order was made that no person should buy barley in open market for malt, unless he bought as much malt and sold it. In the first year of Edward VI an order was made—"That from the fest of All Saints to fest of Purificac'on, neither bakers nor brewers shall buy noo woode by the cobbull lodde," on certain pains. The increased use of wood in the preparation of various manufactures, and the consequent scarcity of that useful article, was at this time a source of complaint throughout the country.

The price of ale was fixed by the corporation—admirable connoiseurs in such matters. A document of the same date as the last-mentioned is as follows:

"It is enacted by the auctorite aforesed, that every brewer from henceforth do make but one manner of alle, and that it be good and wholesome, upon peine of dyffrenchessynge, after the ratt of one penny a gallon of the best, and three gallons for a penny of the other sorte; and that no citizen nor other do feche no alle at St. John's nor elswhere above thees p'ces" on certain pains.

These prices were changed and fixed from time to time (according to the price of malt) by the council chamber, or the "grand enquest at the lawday," on which inquest not more than two brewers were permitted. The corporation aletasters in those days must have been men of large experience, for no brewer was allowed to go on with the process of "tonnyng" until he had put a sign at his door, whereby the taster might know when and where to "drop in" to receive his drops and fee. The quaint phraseology of the times described these tasters as "sadde and discreete persons," ordained to see that

the ale be good and sweet. Of the sadness and discretion of these functionaries I have, nevertheless, strong doubts. These two attributes do not usually run together, for the sadness of the morning is generally occasioned by the lack of discretion on the previous night. The aletasters laid their informations, as to any defaults, weekly ; and, singular enough, the corporation, not being content with the critical acumen of their own officers, became tasters themselves, and laid heavy penalties on any brewer who sold his ale before "the baill[s], aldermen, and cham[ls] had tasted hit, seen hit, and disposid hit to sale after the goodness of hit." In the time of Philip and Mary the aletaster was disfranchised if he refused to serve the office. The following was the aletasters' oath :

"You shall resort to every brewer's house within this city on their tunning day, and there to taste their ale, whether it be good and wholesome for man's body, and whether they make it from time to time according to the prices fixed—So help you God."

ANCIENT INNS.

Among the ancient hostelries were the Bush, the Rein Deer, the White Horse, the Talbot in Sidbury, the Lion, the Bull, the Bear in Hylton Street, and the Saracen's Head (these are mentioned from two to three centuries ago), the Trinity Inn, the Talbot at the Cross, the Globe, the Woolpack, the White Hart, the Cardinal's Hat, the White Lion in the Corn Market, the Griffin, the Bell, the Antelopp, and the Swan in High Street. The Stag Inn, at Worcester, is also mentioned at the time of Charles II, by M. Jorevin, (*Antiq. Rep.* ii, 59), who says : "According to the custom of the country, the landladies sup with the strangers and passengers, and if they have daughters they are also of the company, to entertain the guests at table with pleasant conceits, where they drink as much as the men : but what is to me the most disgusting in all this is, that when one drinks the health of any person in company, the custom of

the country does not permit you to drink more than half the cup, which is filled up, and presented to him or her whose health you have drunk." He also speaks of tobacco, which it seems the women smoked as well as the men. All inns were protected from the competition of strangers—that proscribed race not being permitted to hoist a sign-board; and, indeed, it was not till a house had been formally accepted as an "auncient inn" that a freeman was permitted to draw his ale for the million. In the year 1650 occurs an item of "12^{d}, p^{d} for cutting down the signs of unlicenced alehouses;" also, "Paid Sampson Bourne for three sealed potts, to measure the alehouse-keepers potts, 9^{s} 6^{d};" and in the by-law book "it is desired that Mr. Maior and Aldermen will take some care to see the abuse of small measures, and the new and evil use of *cannes*, to be reformed." Hops were first mentioned in the year 1674.

MERCERS, GROCERS, HABERDASHERS, AND UPHOLSTERERS,

were incorporated 1545; and the

APOTHECARIES

were united with them in 1663. This union of companies probably took place, in some instances, in consequence of the similarity of the trades and the identity of their interests, and in others by reason of the members of any particular craft in the city not being sufficient in number, of themselves, to constitute a guild or company.

CARPENTERS AND JOINERS

were incorporated by Charles II, in 1661, and the

BRICKLAYERS

in 1713. It appears that the masons were a fellowship separate from the latter, and were not erected till 1739. Here is the by-law which regulated the

TILERS, CARPENTERS, AND MASONS:

"Also, that no tylers, called hilliars of the citie, nor non other man within the citie dwelling, compell, charge, ne make no tiler stranger coming to the citie, to serve at his rule and assignment, but that he may take by the day with the partys that he workith, accordynge to the statute or bett chepe yf they two so can agree; and that the tylers of the citie set no parliament among them, to make any of them to be as a master, and all other tylers to be as his servants and at his commandment, but that any tyler be free to come, to goo, and to worke with eny man as ys before rehersed, in peyne of 20^{s} and losyng of his franchis of him that this rule disobeith, whereof half to the baillies, and halfe to the comens, as often tymes as the case shall so require: and that every tiler makyng tyle and bricke, and syllyng hit into the city, sett his proper marke upon his tyle, and well anele hit, that he so hit to kepe lenkyth and brode, in peyn of 20^{s}, half to the baillies, and half to the comons, as often tymes as eny tiler is so founde in defawte; and that no carpenter ne mason take more by the day than the lawe wult, upon peyn of pynnishm^{t} according to the statute therefore late made and provided: that every carpint' not being a master of the said crafte, may hereaf^{t} pache, clowt, or repare any olde house within this citie or lib'te of the same, and make eny thing else, so it be no new framed work, when he is called upon by eny cytesan, without eny agreement made with the stewards of the said crafte for the same."

In the year 1740 a complaint was made that the masons and carpenters, employed in building houses in Worcester, had built beyond the old standard, and encroached on the old foundations, to which offence was attached the penalty of being disfranchised from their freedom.

THE TAILORS AND DRAPERS

of Worcester were a fellowship in the time of Henry VII, and incorporated by Edward VI, in 1551. At that time the company consisted of "Tailors, Drapers, and Hosiers;" in 1634 they were styled "Drapers, Tailors, Hosiers, Skinners, and Tawyers;" in the following century, "Drapers, Tailors, and Furriers," constituted the company; and subsequently it took the higher sounding name of "Merchant Tailors' Company." In the

seventeenth century some of the master tailors were described as bodice-makers. The annual meeting of the company was held on the Monday after the feast of St. John, at the "nether chamber or parlour over the south side of Trinity Hall," and by the terms of their feoffment (1599) they also enjoyed "free ingress and egress to the great kitchen, to dresse their meate and to do their necessaries when they do keep any dynner or feaste there, without interrupcon or denyall, paying 20^{d} yearly to the company of weavers, walkers, and clothiers." Their by-laws, deeds, minute books, flags, &c., are still in the possession of Mr. Davis, tailor, &c., Foregate Street. The earliest by-laws are dated 1551. After making the usual regulations against the admission of tradesmen into the city who had not become free and allowed by the said company, either by a seven years' servitude or otherwise, all journeymen who could not produce their indentures were ordered to be taken before the mayor for summary punishment. No master was permitted to finish work that another master had cut out, or forfeit 3s. 4d.; and no journeyman to take work to be done out of his master's house. No master to engage a workman in the employ of another, without formal discharge by the latter. It was also ordered—

"That hytt shal be lawful to the saide drapers and their apprentices to make women's hoses, as they heretofore have used, w^{t}out greeing w^{t} the saide taylors."

Another regulation—worthy even of the enlightened age in which we ourselves live—was made, to the effect, that if any tailor should spoil a garment or purloin the cloth, the stewards and assistants were to hold a kind of inquest over the mutilated remains of the material, and award such satisfaction as they might deem equivalent to the damage. One other extract from these laws will suffice to show the nature of that bond of union which cemented together the ancient trading fraternities:

"Item—if it fortune any of the said fellowship to be married

within the said city or suburbs of the same, upon request made to the said wardens by the same person married, the wardens, by their beadle, shall admonish every master of the said fellowship to come at a time and place appointed, to accompany the same person or persons to the church, and there to offer with them, upon paine to forfeit, every of them, being absent without reasonable cause to the said use, 12d."

The secret charm of this fellowship—like that of the corporation itself—consisted in an unlimited amount of eating and drinking. The stewards' accounts give proof of a melancholy extent of *morning* tippling. It is painfully ludicrous to meet with whole columns of sums disbursed at various inns in the city, or on "streaming day," and here and there a solitary item of "Gave a pore taylor 4d." An action is recorded by the company against one William Taylor, in which the *gravamen* of the offence seemed to be, not the fact of his objecting to pay the legal amount required for admission into the company, but his non-payment of the usual fee of 50s. for a breakfast, to celebrate that event! Taylor, however, was not to be coerced, for he threw down his 3s. 4d. in their hall, and dared them to do their worst. The result is not recorded.

All actions (it appears from these records) were brought in the name of the city chamberlains, who were secured from loss by the company. The punishment of fine and distraint was in the hands of the company itself. The minute book commences with the year 1638. About the middle of that century the sign of the cross was abandoned by those who could not write, and a rude kind of initial or some symbolical mark substituted. [Was this owing to the spread of Puritanism?] At the same period the clothiers filed a bill in Chancery, with the view of ousting the tailors' company from their room in the Trinity-hall, but did not succeed. The tailors sometimes let their room for twelve months, taking care to have the rent prepaid. An entry occurs in the year 1667, of one Edward

Thornton, "declaring in the public hall, that the two stewards for the time being had breake o^p^ his box and stoule of ye seid box, twenty pounds of his ye seid Thornton's money." In the year 1810 the company followed the example of one of our ancient corporations by investing their money in a state lottery, and the same year was marked by a strike for wages. The masters declared they would not be dictated to, as the prices were high enough, and they must protect the public against any increase of them! They, therefore, agreed not to employ any journeyman who should "stick out;" and the author of a handbill (printed by Mr. Holl), who signs himself "An Impartial Observer," protests stoutly against this "daring combination," alleging that the men could earn 20s. per week, besides the enjoyment of a "Saint Monday," but that they were now greedy enough to require the same wages, together with the opportunity of worshipping *two saints* in the week. The company held its last dinner at the Bull's Head, April 20, 1837. The ancient flag belonging to the company still exists, although old age has reduced it to a "loop'd and window'd raggedness." It contains at the two extremities the national and city arms; and the centre is occupied with those of the company, supported by two dromedaries, and the crest, a lamb (indicative of the fleece). The motto is *Concordiâ parvæ res crescunt.*

THE IRONMONGERS

were incorporated in 1598. One of the minute books belonging to the "Company of Smiths, Ironmongers, and Cutlers," is still in the possession of John Hall, Esq., to whom I am indebted for the opportunity of inspecting it. The book, which appears to have been previously a kind of scrap book, belonging to some private gentleman, who copied therein *excerpta* from classical and other authors, commences with the year 1753, and contains a copy of the ordinances by which the fellowship

was bound. The election of warden, or steward, to manage the affairs of the company, was appointed for the 24th of June; also an under-steward, to act with or officiate for the head steward, and two associates to assist the stewards. The meetings were quarterly; absentees fined 6d. The junior member to be the beadle, to summon the members, &c., and for his services he received perquisites, and was authorized to carry the flag in public processions, being at the same time allowed a knot of coloured ribbons to garnish his person. Young men who had served a regular apprenticeship were admitted on paying 40s. Indentures were to be enrolled in the company's books. A box with three locks and keys was kept, and when the cash amounted to £5 it was put out to interest. No master was allowed to employ the servant or journeyman of another master, unless the man had previously left his employ; and, what was an excellent feature in the institution, no man in the trade was allowed to bring an action against another of the craft till the cause of action had first been heard by the stewards, who should do their utmost to reconcile the parties. The meetings were held at inns, to which their patronage appeared to have been very fairly and equally extended, scarcely three meetings having been held consecutively in one place, and nearly forty inns (many of which are still in existence) being mentioned in this book. The minutes consist chiefly of enrolments of indentures, orders for the recovery of forfeitures, and the prosecution of non-freemen for plying their trade in the city. The specimens of orthography here to be seen are not of a first-rate order, one of the members almost invariably spelling his Christian name without the final letter, and another setting down the learned associates as "Ass-Schoiates." In 1755 an order was made for a dinner on the 29th of May, and to repair the armour and purchase two pistols. This of course had reference to the procession on that day, in which the man in armour bore a conspicuous part. In 1776,

Messrs. W. Hall and A. Edmonds, the stewards, were instructed to prosecute a pedlar, one Vasey, to recover £4, forfeited under the by-laws, the pedlar having removed the case out of local jurisdiction to the Court of King's Bench. An ordinance or by-law was made by the corporation in 1785, enjoining, that as many who were not freemen were found vending goods and following trades in the city, a penalty of £20 should be recoverable in every one instance, the parties to be prosecuted in the names of the chamberlains; one-third of the penalty to go to the informer and two-thirds to the poor; but that any person, whether freeman or otherwise, might be allowed to sell food. In 1792 the blacksmiths agreed to give their best workmen 13s. 6d. per week, and the whitesmiths 12s. 6d., and no more. Towards the close of the century intervals of two or three years occur in which there are no entries. In 1810 the cutlers are no longer mentioned in the fellowship. After a long interval of silence the following minute is made on the 30th of April, 1821:—"It being the intention of the worshipful mayor and corporation to revive the old custom of celebrating the 29th of May, by the different trades accompanying his worship* to attend divine service at the cathedral, we, the company of smiths and ironmongers, approving their loyal intention, do agree to attend his worship in a body, with our man clothed in armour, and other emblematical devices of our trade." At the same time the company expressed its determination to maintain with greater energy the privileges of its charter (which the mayor was requested to search for). Messrs. Walter Benton and T. B. Jones were then stewards, and Mr. John Hall secretary. The sword was produced "in good condition" by Mr. Matthews, and the armour being repaired, it was ordered that Edward Breeze should be allowed 5s. to enact the military knight. The company also went in procession to the cathedral on the coronation

* F. Hooper, Esq., who revived the trades' pageant on the 29th of May.

of George IV. About this time might be seen the traces of that public feeling which a few years after had expanded to a strength sufficient to carry the Municipal Act. In several instances, when the minutes involved a recognition of the spirit of monopoly, the names of Edmonds, Mathews, Weaver, Hardy, and others, were found (as dissentients) under the head "Would not sign." There is no entry subsequent to the year 1822.

THE COOPERS

were incorporated in 1726.

BARBERS, BOWSTRING MAKERS, WAX AND TALLOW CHANDLERS,

were also a company, for about the year 1738 I find that their laws were submitted to the consideration of the corporation by-law makers. The company of wax chandlers was in a flourishing state in the days of the Romish church, when candles were so frequently used at their festivals and vigils.

PARISH CLERKS

were a fraternity by prescription, as were also the

FISHERMEN.

At the present time (1849) the Worcester fishermen are needlessly complaining of the wholesome regulations made with regard to the fence months, which they ought to be aware are calculated to increase largely the supply of that delicious fish, the Severn salmon, and thereby to improve and extend their own occupation. They should also be made acquainted with the restrictions which existed in the time of Henry VII. It was ordained "that no fisher citesen by no fysh of no foreyn^r comyng to vitell the citie till that the commons be served, and that strange vitellers sell hit themself and none other fysher for them," on pain of 20s. No forestalling or regrating was allowed, and innkeepers and cooks were likewise charged "to bye no manner see fyshe ne fresh wat^r fyshe in som^r byfor 7 of the

bell, and in wynt^r byfor 8, nor to forstall no geese ne pyggs." Every "fresh fysher" paid 1d. a day for "selling his vittell at the king's bords;" also ½d. to the sword bearer for every salmon sold; and if any fish was brought to the city to be sold, the aldermen took with them two fishmongers, who were duly sworn "to see that all such vitells be able and seete for man's body," with the alternative of heavy penalties, and the "corupt and defectyve vittell" was given to *prisoners and poor men!* Fish were not to be sold at inns or hawked about, but at the king's boards only. These were probably standings erected in Fish Street, as, in the 36th year of Henry VIII, an order was made "for the keepyng of fishe shopps only in St. Alban's parish." Not only was a rigid scrutiny kept upon all fish brought to the city, but none was allowed to be sent away until the city had been duly supplied. No member of the corporation was allowed to retail any fish if he were not "contributory wyth the fishmongers' crafte," excepting "rede heryng, spratt, and schell fysche." But any inhabitant not being of the council house "may in lentin tyme syll white heryngs, barrellide and not waterid, rede heryngs," &c.

TRADING EXCLUSIVENESS.

It will ere this have been remarked, that the principal energies of each corporate body, as watchers over the trading interests of the city, seem to have been directed against the inroads of traders from other places. I have many illustrations in store. In the time of Edward a duty was levied on "packsmen," to be gathered by the innkeepers at whose houses they put up. In 1659, pedlars and chapmen were allowed to open their standings in the city only on fair days; and a few years afterwards there was a great outcry against Scotchmen for selling cloth at Worcester fairs, and taking the opportunity of committing "pettite larceny;" the constables were therefore empowered

to take the names and addresses of all such Scotchmen! a measure that would be scarcely comprehensive enough for the thieves and vagrants of the nineteenth century. An instance of the extraordinarily arbitrary selfishness of the ancient code of municipal law occurs in a chamber order of about the year 1640, when the porter of Severn bridge was ordered to arrest every trow or barge laden with wood or coal, and the owners "to sell the same to the freemen, according to the ancient law of the city, and not to forriners, without special licence." Selfishness and a shortsighted policy are conspicuous throughout both the trading and social regulations of past ages. In tracing these records it is a source of grief to see the large amounts expended at various times during the last two centuries on the opposition to the improved navigation of the Severn and Avon, as being injurious to trade! The severe restrictions on all classes of tradesmen were not less reprehensible. For the slightest default or irregularity their purprestures* were pulled down, and they themselves disfranchised; nothing was to be sold or purchased but through the particular channel cut out by the corporation; and even that every-day, every-hour necessary of life—water, was only to be had of the water bailiff at a place then called "Bitter's Slip;" while the poor "forriner," alack! he was not permitted even to become the purchaser of one of the city miskins! I may conclude this part of my subject in the words of the Municipal Commissioners:—"The fines to which non-freemen are liable for trading in the town, and the price set upon the purchase of the privilege to trade, are considered to operate injuriously, not only on persons commencing business with small capitals, but also on the owners

* A purpresture is any encroachment upon royal or public property by individuals. The instances above alluded to were booths or stalls for the exhibition of goods for sale, which booths, though they must have incommoded traffic in the narrow streets of those days, were nevertheless tolerated by the corporation on the usual condition—cash in hand.

of houses, for which it is supposed there would be a greater demand, if the privilege of trading were exempted from this charge."

ARMS AND MOTTOES OF TRADES.

In the Dineley MSS. (now in the possession of Sir Thomas Winnington, Bart.) it is stated that in the old Town-hall of Hereford city are chambers for the several corporations or guilds, with their arms and proper verses of scripture and devices over their doors.

The SKINNERS have the representation or painting of Adam and Eve, and these words—"Unto Adam and his wife did the Lord God make coats of skins, and clothed them"—*Gen.* iii, 21.

The TANNERS this—"Send therefore to Joppa, and call hither Simon whose surname is Peter; he is lodged in the house of one Simon, a tanner"—*Acts* x, 32.

BUTCHERS. The motto—"Omnia subjecisti sub pedibus oves et boves"—*Psalm* viii, 6, 7. ["Thou hast put all things under his feet, all sheep and oxen."]

GLOVERS—"They wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins, being destitute"—*Hebrews* xi, 37.

BAKERS—"Give us day by day our daily bread"—*Luke* xi, 3.

CLOATHIERS OR CLOATH WORKERS, whose arms are—Sable, a chevron ermyne in chief, two crabits argent, in base a brazel Or, with supporters. The crest hath this motto—"My trust is in God alone;" besides about their chamber these verses—I suppose set up by one John Lewis, once master of the company here, in old English character, such as it is:

"Cloathing doth other trades exceed as faer
As splendid Sol outshines the dullest star;
By it the poor do gain their livelihood,
Who otherwise might starve for want of food.

Farmers by it make money, and do pay
Their landlords duly on the very day;

The cloathiers they grow rich, shopkeepers thrive,
The winter's worsted, and man kept alive.

Advance but clothing, and we need not sayle
To Colchis against dragons to prevayl;
Or yoke with bulls to gain the Golden Fleece,
As Jason did who strayed so far to Greece.

Promote the staple trade with skill and art,
The Fleece of God will satisfy your heart;
Concenter that the weavers may go on,
John Lewis swears by Jove it shall be done."

The Skinners were incorporated in the first year of Edward III, and made a perfect fraternitie 18th Richard II. Their motto is the same as that of the Goldsmiths—"To God only be the glory."

THE FAIRS AND MARKETS

were, till within a few years past, held in the public streets of the city. Early in Elizabeth's reign, the great fair was held alternately, at the "Grass Cross" and at St. Helen's, after the subject had been put to the vote in the chamber. From the earliest records I find that the chamber were invested with, and exercised the power of, fixing and changing the localities of fairs and markets. These were frequently shifted, except the Corn Market and the Mealcheapen, the former of which was considered the most important of any, and here was a bell. In 1690, an item occurs of five shillings charged for a new stone for the bellman. The holding of the cattle markets in the streets was notoriously inconvenient; and no greater proof of the lazy sufferance of the grumbling John Bull need be afforded than the fact, that an annoyance was complained of for three or four centuries at least before its removal took place. In the time of Henry VII occurs the following by-law:

"And over that hit is ordeined that the salt market be from hensfurth kept at the well of Allhallow as it was of old tyme usid, and on that where it is used at the market of catell ys kept within

the Brode Street of the seid city to the noyance of the king's people, so that no man b'nneth may passe or repasse by the same street, wherefore hit is ordeined, that from this yeld following all Walshe catell comyng to the market to be sold be brought in Dolday, and all English catell in Anger [Angel] Lane, and in the old gayle yf Anger Lane will not suffice, for safegard of children and other the king's liege people."

In 1594 the Garden Market was removed to Broad Street and Allhallow Well. In 1611 the Cabbage Market was in Baxter, or Bakers', Street (now the Shambles). In 1640 the Horse Fair was held in Foregate Street. In 1739 the sum of thirteen shillings was paid to the Hereford and Gloucester printers for advertising the Worcester Cheese Fair. It would seem that every trade and occupation had its assigned locality for a market. Sieves and ropes were exposed for sale in New Street, "hearbs" near St. Swithin's church, dishes in Church Street; butter, cheese, and fruit, at the Cross; the Ironmongers' Market was removed in 1579 from the Grass Cross to St. Helen's church, and the parishioners were ordered to erect a market place for them there; and Habingdon mentions in his time the existence of Huxter Street (now Little Fish Street), Goosethrottle Lane, Cheese Cheaping, Bakers' Street, Glovers' Street, Shoemakers' Street, Needlers' Street (now Pump Street), &c., as instances of localities deriving their names from the occupations of their inhabitants; to which may be added Salt Lane, Gardeners' Lane, Tallow Hill, and Lich Street, or the street of death, through which corpses were carried to the churchyard of the cathedral. Cooken Street is described as "Cucking Street" in an old plan of the city now in the possession of the corporation, and hence I infer that it was the street down which the "cucking stool" was carried to "duck" scolding women and others in the river.

THE COINING OF MONEY

at Worcester, as being connected with its trade and commerce, must be briefly alluded to under this head. Coining

being a prerogative of the Crown, the counterfeiting of the king's coin in early times constituted the crime of high treason, and the various laws on this subject were not repealed till the time of William IV. Many towns, bishops, and abbots, had the privilege of coining money. There were two or more mints at Worcester, each coiner paying 20s. to the Crown for the use of the dies, which he received from London. The earliest Worcester coin is one of Æthelstan, about the year 935. It is said there are no public coins of Worcester extant of any date between the thirteenth century and the time of the Civil Wars. The existence of several country mints led to irregularity and fraud. The coiners at Birmingham were at various times obnoxious to the city of Worcester, and frequent charges were incurred for crying down Birmingham halfpence. Tradesmens' brass farthings and tokens, which were originally intended for the accommodation of trade at a time when the currency was very limited, also occasioned much fraud and evasion. During Charles's contests with his people a large amount of money was coined by the king's friends in different parts of England; and from 1648 to 1672 several towns and private persons coined small pieces in brass and copper for the greater convenience of change. In 1666 the Worcester chamber ordered "that the chamberlains demand security of all persons that shall set forth brass farthings or halfpence, for the re-taking of such as shall be brought to them." And in the following year the chamber made an order "that the sum of £50 be dispensed on making farthings for the necessary exchange, and that the chamberlain shall from time to time exchange them for silver as often as they shall be thereunto required, and to keep a stock in hand for that purpose, and that all other farthings and halfpence be called in by proclamation." An order to the same effect was subsequently made, but in stronger terms, occasioned by the excessive number of halfpence put in circula-

lation by divers persons in the city. Specimens of no less than thirty-five of these tokens, coined by Worcester tradesmen, are yet extant. In 1670 mention is made of a petition to his majesty for pardon "for putting out farthings in this city." This evidently has reference to the arbitrary and unconstitutional trickery of King Charles in depriving cities and towns of their ancient charters and privileges, which (as in the case of London) were restored on petition. The following entries have reference to the same subject:

1671.—"For exchange of the city farthings, £41. 14s."

"To Mr. Streete's man, for his paines in the business about the farthings, and drawing a petition."

1673.—"To Greg, for carrying the farthings from the hall, 3d."

"To Mr. J. Higgins, to buy farthings, £20."

1699.—"A petition to the House of Commons "to put a stop to ye further coyning of copper money under the comon seale of this citie."

SNUFF.

I have no other circumstance to mention, in connection with the trade of the city, except that in the last century the article of snuff was manufactured by Mr. John Douglas, in Frog Lane, also by Mr. Wall (father of the late banker), and by the late Alderman Hall; but the trade ceased here in 1819, and was purchased by a gentleman of Bristol. Snuff-taking in England is said to have originated in the capture of vast quantities of the article in Sir G. Rooke's expedition to Spain, in 1702, when the prize of the forces was sold in England, and gave rise to a habit which now yields an enormous return to the revenue.

The carpet trade, which has long since left this city, and the porcelain, vinegar, lace, and other manufactures still carried on here, do not claim a notice in this book, as I have nothing to state with regard to them beyond what has been already published in the histories.

Corporation Feasts.

"Drink, and be mad, then; 't is your country bids!
Gloriously drunk, obey the important call!
Her cause demands the assistance of your throats;—
Ye all can swallow, and she asks no more"— THE TASK.

"Qu'il faut manger pour vivre, et non vivre pour manger"—MOLIERE.

THE love of feasting and excessive drinking seems to have descended to us Englishmen from that ancient Teutonic family whose blood still flows in our veins. Before the introduction of Christianity the Scandinavians (the inhabitants of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark) used to hold regular drinking bouts, at which he who drank the deepest, or emptied the largest horn at a single draught, was regarded as the hero of the festival. The first missionaries, unable to abolish the custom, instead of the false deities and warlike heroes to whom that people had previously drunk, substituted the true God, Jesus Christ, and the saints; to whose honour they devoutly drank for many ages. Through the influence of the clergy, these meetings were gradually changed into public confraternities or *guilds*, under the patronage of some saint; and in the twelfth century these convivial guilds had become powerful corporate bodies, and the guild-brethren were pledged to afford each other mutual aid and protection, especially in judicial affairs. Mr. Blackwell, in his notes on M. Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, observes, that it will not be necessary

to inform the guild-brethren of the city of London that their worshipful companies are the lineal descendants of the old Scandinavian drinking bouts, for they seldom fail to show the public that this is a fact which they are perfectly aware of. One of the statutes of these guilds, found in a MS. of the thirteenth century, will give us an idea of the sobriety of the times. It is as follows:

"Si quis pro ebrietate ceciderit in ipsa domo convivii, vel antequam propriam curiam intraverit, oram [a small piece of money] persolvat."

Not less remarkable are the statutes of another confraternity instituted in honour of St. Olave, King of Norway, among which we find these:

"Quicunque potum suum effundit latius quam pede velare poterit, VI denarios persolvat. Quicunque dormierit in banco convivii in conspectu fratrum, oram persolvat. Quicunque ebrietatis causa in domo convivii vomitum fecerit, Dimidiam Marcam persolvat."

To those who are acquainted with the history of the Northmen, and with the fact that a great portion of this island was overrun and occupied by them repeatedly up to the close of the eleventh century, it will not appear strange that many of our habits and customs prevailing even at the present day may be easily traced up to this source. Thus the modern English clubs are evidently the offspring of the guilds of our northern ancestors. A most interesting volume might be written on this subject, but my intention at present having reference only to municipal delectations, I shall confine myself thereto.

Both the high and low bailiff, as well as the sheriff, were expected to give their feasts annually. The chief magistrate probably defrayed the cost of his banquet from the annual grant made to him by the corporation for "the keeping a more splendid table in his mayoralty." These grants increased from £40 in 1722 to £150 in late years. Yet it appeared by the Report of the Municipal Commissioners, that upon an average

revenue of £2,000 a year, at the time of their visit, no less than £265 was expended yearly on dinners and wine. Before the period when those grants or salaries were introduced it is likely that the high bailiff was repaid only the expenses of the feast, as in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth we find an entry:

"P^d^ to the high bailiff for his dinner in excesse, and to recover of hym."

In the latter end of the same reign an item appears:

"The low bailiff to be excused from making a banquet, and to pay £3 to the high bailiff."

In the 5th of Elizabeth the chamberlains were formally discharged from the liability of furnishing a feast, and were to pay, in lieu thereof, 40s. a piece, one half to go to the treasurer's fee, and the other to the reparation of the city walls.

To show that the municipal feast was a peremptory necessity —an institution in which the corporate body had a prescriptive right, as dear and as sacred to them as Magna Charta or the trial by jury—the following may be adduced:

1664.—"Ordered that the grand feast to be kept by E. Cooksey, the maior, in respect of the present calamity of the plague upon this nation shall be omitted for this yeere onlie."

1684.—"Item—that Sheriff Swift, having omitted to keep his usual feast, shall make a feast for the whole chamber before he be elected mayor."

1740. A complaint is made by the four sergeants that the sheriff has not entertained them in the customary manner, and the sum of £10 was divided between them as "compensation and satisfaction."

Perhaps in no one feature were the habits of ancient corporate bodies more dissimilar to those of the present day than in their public gustative celebrations. The most insignificant matters of business, as well as public and national events, were made an excuse for potations "long and deep." Equally indifferent as to

whether it was at the proclamation of a new sovereign or the decease of an old one—the news of peace or war—the Gunpowder Plot or the Restoration—the inspection of corporate lands or the supervision of the repairs of the town ditch—a conference about a new act of parliament or the framing a by-law on the size of quart pots—the governors of the city in those days, however much they may have differed among each other on political and social questions, agreed to drown in the bowl all those minor considerations, and the chamberlains' accounts for many years are to a great extent made up of such items as the following:

"Spent at the venison eating at the Crowne .	£00 17 4"
"For ale sent for by Mr. Mayor when the governor was at the hall conferring about the bullworke (1643)	00 00 12"
"Spent by Mr. Maior and aldermen at Claines (1685), when they went to procure teems for hauling pebbles to mend the Foregate . .	00 03 00"
"For eating [the charge is *for eating!*] of a buck at the Talbott at the Crosse, sent by Mr. B. Berkeley, more than was collected . .	04 10 06"
"For beare and tobacco spent that time . .	00 04 10"

The first mention of tobacco occurs in the year 1643 (about fifty-seven years after its first introduction to this country by Captain Greenfield and Sir F. Drake). It was evidently at that time esteemed a most especial luxury.

"Item—for one ounce of bacca which Mr. Maior sent for to spend upon Colonel Sandys, and for tobacco pipe, eighteen pence."

From having been at first but sparingly introduced, "the weed" gradually became a potent favourite (the women smoking it as well as the men), and regularly figures as one of the most important elements of the chamberlains' accounts, while even the parliamentary representatives of the city in those days were not ashamed of "blowing their Broseleys" with their consti-

tuents, before going to or after returning from town. Here are instances:

1655.—"5s for a pottle of sack and an oz. of tobacco sent to Mr. Collins at Christmas, before his going up to London."

"For wine, sugar, and tobacco, spent on Mr. Collins at the Globe, on his return from London, 11s 10d."

"For wine, sugar, and tobacko, spent when Mr. Maior and Master Aldermen went to drinke with Captaine Collins before his going to Parliament, 1l 7s 4d."

I would give a trifle to have seen the learned and discreet burgesses taking their last instructions in political wisdom, conveyed in dense clouds of smoke, from the lips of his worship and his corporate brethren; or, more amusing still, the explanations of the worthy M.P.s on being "hauled over the coals" at their return. No doubt the party often experienced the valuable assistance derived to their profound consultations by the use of the soothing weed. What nation or people, to whom tobacco was known, has not felt and practised the same? No Turk settles a bargain till he has first smoked a chibouque,—no Dutchman comes to market without it.*

The habits of the ancient Worcester corporation will here again bear a comparison with those of the northern countries. Tacitus tells us that it was in their carousals the Germans consulted together on their most important concerns, but that on the morrow they reconsidered the resolutions of the preceding night, supposing "that the proper time to take each other's

* An *Universal Dictionary* (1743) says that "tobacco is sometimes taken in long pellets and put up the nose, where it is found to produce very good effects, to attract a deal of water, unload the head, resolve catarrhs, and promote expectoration. Some have left this tobacco in their noses all night, but this is found to occasion vomiting next morning." A bull of Urban VIII excommunicated those who took tobacco in churches! In the time of James I it was prohibited to be taken in alehouses as being too great an incentive to drunkenness. How sadly has "the weed" been libelled! Let me rather deem it—

"The old man's solace and the student's aid—
The dear concomitant of nappy ale—
The sweet prolonger of a harmless tale."

opinions was when the soul was too open for disguise ; and to determine, when it was too cautious to err." The following items show what was the practice in Worcester in this respect :

1661.—"For wine, sugar, and tobacco, spent at the general meeting when Mr. Maior and Aldermen met about the petition to the king, and settling the militia, and other things, 1^{l} 5^{s} 0^{d}."

1691.—"Expended when Mr. Maior and Aldermen discoursed Mr. Savage about Mr. Salwey's debt, 3^{s}."

1725.—"Ale, pipes, and tobacco, when Mr. Maior, Town Clerk, and several of the Chamber, met about procuring the Turnpike Act, 14^{s} 10^{d}."

But we must not yet lose sight of the history and growing importance of tobacco as a convivial agent:

1659.—"Paid Mr. Maior Ashbie for a pound of Spanish tobacco, 6^{s} 8^{d}."

The price of the article seems to have been much reduced in 1685, when, on the occasion of the coming down of the new charter (James II), there were purchased,

"Six pounds of best Virginia tobacco, 12^{s}; 2 gross of best glazed pipes and a box with them, 3^{s} 4^{d}; also more for tobacco at that time, 1^{s}."

In the entertainments given to Sir John Pakington, the Earl of Plymouth, the Duke of Shrewsbury, also his Majesty's Commissioners of Taxes, and many other distinguished guests of the corporation, wine, sugar, ale, pipes, and tobacco, were extensively used ; but it is gratifying to witness, amidst this wholesale consumption, that some regard was had to economy, and the salvation of the city funds, by making the dirty pipes perform double duty, as frequent entries occur of a charge of 6d. per gross for *burning* the pipes !

The "buck eatings" mentioned above were solemn feasts or saturnalia devoted to venison alone, and were altogether independent of the bailiffs' feasts. The neighbouring nobility and gentry would occasionally forward a buck, as a present to the corporation. The bailiff or mayor, having given due instructions for the baking

of the same, invited every one of his brethren to partake on a day named. The expense of baking and "trimmings," including wine, &c., was subscribed for by all present as far as their money lasted, but it would seem that almost on every occasion they "outran the constable;" the public funds being afterwards charged with heavy sums for "more than was received of the company present" at the feasts. Many of the corporation, however, not liking the principle of voluntary contribution, absented themselves altogether from these expensive dinners, being of opinion that if in their corporate capacity they were called upon to eat and drink for the public good, the public ought to pay for it entirely. To obviate this state of things, an order was issued about the year 1641, setting forth that—

"Whereas by a chamber acte it was heretofore enacted that the expenses of eating venison sh^{d} bee paid by every of the 24 and 48, whether they were present or absent, by every of the 24, 2$_{s}$, and every of the 48, 12^{d}, it is nowe ordered, that the said expenses shall hereafter be disbursed by the severall and respective treasurers of each company, if they have soe much in stocke, and if not, then what is wantinge shall bee supplied by the sev'll psons of the severall companies according to the foresaid p'portions."

This seems to have had the desired effect, for there occur no more complaints about absenteeism. In the year 1700, a bonfire was lighted to commemorate the acquittal of the famous Whig Lord Chancellor Somers from impeachment.* His lordship returned the compliment by the gift of a fat buck and wine to the Worcester corporation, to which they added 186 lbs. of beef, neats' tongues, rabbits, "salletting," ducks and chickens, 21 lbs. of butter at 5d. per lb., "cabbage and cabbage

* This great man was born at Worcester in 1650, and, tradition says, at a house (now pulled down) adjoining the east side of the cathedral, near to the spot where once stood the old church of St. Michael. The somewhat whimsical charge of being the accomplice of a pirate was brought against him, and it was likewise alleged that he had exercised partiality in giving and withdrawing the commission of the peace. On both these charges his innocence was completely proved.

nett," bacon, lemons, fruit, and 3 lbs. best tobacco at 2s. per lb.; and the "waytes" were also paid 6s. for their services on the occasion. This was probably one of the grandest buck-feasts mentioned in these records. It should be added that the corporation had their own cook, a regular salaried officer, and whose situation, by the bye, could have been no sinecure.

To show the various and incongruous objects which his worship and brother municipals deemed worthy of commemoration through the agency of feasting, may be instanced a charge of 1s. 10d. for "beare and tobacko" when "the gentlemen" viewed the town ditch in 1661; £3. 13s. for a supper at the George in 1659, with 1s. paid to the cook and servant maids; 6s. 8d. "spent when Mr. Maior watched with the constables at the Town-halle upon the death of the Lord Protector;" for "beare and tobacko," for "the gentlemen which watched" with Sheriff Vernon at that time, 12s. 8d. Captain Collins seems also to have been a member of the "watch committee" on that occasion, and as Cromwell's funereal ceremonies were conducted with great state in the metropolis for two or three weeks, the event was celebrated in Worcester, for three nights, by a corresponding display of loyalty, so far as the consumption of liquors and tobacco was concerned; but when the new Lord Protector was proclaimed, the corporation also did not hesitate to mark that accession—on the principle that "a living dog is better than a dead lion"—with the disbursement of £4. 0s. 6d. for wine, and 10s. to the "waights." There is a charge of 5s. 10d., in 1668, "when the mayor and aldermen went to put Foregate Street in repair;" proclaiming the peace in 1674, 2s. 6d., with 3s. for tobacco and pipes; when the mayor, &c., dined at the Deanery, the butler 5s., the cook 5s., and the doorkeeper 2s. 6d.; 10d. for ale and tobacco "when the maior staid for the judges;" ale drank at "discharging of the great gun upon news of the peace (of Ryswick, 1697), 2s;"

"paid Mr. Lathropp for oysters, pickles, and wine, drunk November 5 (Gunpowder Plot), and money given to the waites, 4^{l} 7^{s} 2^{d};" "for wine, tobacco, and *edibles dranck* and had by the comp^{y} of the 48 on 5th Novb^{r}, 1702, and for faggots, 7^{l} 13^{s} 2^{d};" in 1725, "p^{d} at the coffee house for coffee drams and wine when the mayor, &c., went to and returned from college, Nov. 5;" in 1732, "p^{d} for ale at the Earl's Post (corner of Copenhagen Street), 1^{s} 6^{d}; and p^{d} John Brooks at a meeting there 5^{s};" in 1708, "p^{d} for ale drank by the aldermen and others at the examination of the souldier that cursed the Queene, 3^{s};" for ale and tobacco at the workhouse (!) in 1729, for the city surveyor, 2s. 10½d.; "paid for tripes and oysters when the treasury was opened, 3^{s} 2^{d};" "cards and tobacco" are charged 1s. 11d. in 1737; "spent at Haynes's, in 1741, consulting about a new town clerk, 5^{s};" also eighty bottles of punch on the news of Admiral Vernon taking Carthagena, £8, which dose was repeated twice in the same year. Punch is first mentioned in the year 1730, sherry in 1666 (owing, perhaps, to the then recent treaty with Portugal).

In the time of the Civil Wars, pipes and halberds, tobacco and gunpowder, are mixed together in rich confusion in the corporation accounts. Indeed, the exhibition of loyalty to the prince was only surpassed by the prevailing devotion to the good things of this life. Undoubtedly the corporate body believed the one to be a necessary consequence of the other, agreeing religiously in the sentiment of the old song—

> "We must be good subjects
> When our hearts are thus warmed."

King James II probably thought otherwise when he visited this city in 1687. Green, and the other local historians inform us, that the king having first attended at the cathedral, to cure, with his royal touch, persons afflicted with the "evil," afterwards proceeded, with great solemnity, to the Roman Catholic

Chapel in Foregate Street, preceded by the mayor and aldermen, and that his majesty asked the mayor (Thomas Shewring, Esq.) to go in with him, to which he replied, "I think we have attended your majesty too far already," and then returned to the cathedral. We are told this with all gravity; and Nash observes, that "this worthy magistrate, who preferred his religion and duty to his country to every other consideration, should have his name recorded in letters of gold." But whether Mr. Shewring's conduct was based upon a veneration of the Protestant creed, or on any other cause, the following item in the chamberlains' accounts will probably explain:

1687.—"Paid in expenses at Green Dragon, when Mr. Mayor and aldermen waited for his majesty whilst he was at mass at the chapel, 2s."

One don't know, therefore, which is most worthy of especial wonder—the astounding stupidity of a prince who could thus publicly insult his subjects, or the ridiculous inconsistency of a subject who imagined he saw more harm in wooing "the scarlet lady" at the oratory than in championizing Protestantism, on a Sunday, in the smoky and unconsecrated purlieus of a beer-shop!

A curious instance of the infusion of the Puritanical spirit of the day occurs in the year 1658. The retiring mayor and the aldermen, impatient for the arrival of the coming feast to be furnished forth by the mayor elect, were in the habit of going to inspect the viands a day or two before, in order to assist their imagination to gloat over the luxuries then to be enjoyed, and to prepare their choice of the dishes; when out comes this edict:

"Ordered, that Mr. Maior and aldermen doe hereafter forbeaure to goe to veiw Mr. Maior elect's presents and meats, either on Saturday or the Lord's day before the sweareing."

At the same time attempts were made to render these feasts

a little more select, for an order was issued "that there be no general invitation to innkeepers and alehouse keepers to the mayor's feasts."

THE AUDITS

seem to have afforded periodical opportunities of feasting which likewise were promptly seized, this being a standing item of expense in the books. The corporation brewed their audit ale themselves, and purchased malt, hops, &c., for that purpose. In the year 1714 the entire expense of one hogshead of ale amounted to £2. 19s. 6d., and 6s. for the cask. Under this head is the following entry:

1687.—"At the audit, 1 pound tobacco, 2^s 6^d; an apple roaster, 3^s 6^d; and a pair of snuffers,* 9^d."

CATHERNING.

Frequent charges are made for apples and mending the apple roaster for the audit. It is not improbable that this was in some way connected with the ancient Worcestershire custom of "Catherning." St. Catherine being the patroness of spinsters, young people made merry on her day (November 25) with apples and beer. It was the custom of the dean and chapter of Worcester, yearly, on St. Catherine's day, being the last day of their annual audit, to distribute among the inhabitants of the college precincts a rich compound of wine, spices, &c., which was specially prepared for the occasion, and called the Cattern, or Catherine, bowl. At the Worcester Congress of the Archæological Association (in August, 1848), the Very Rev. the Dean, in reply to a question from Lord Conyngham, said that this

* A facetious friend informs me that these useful instruments were invented long before the *dark* ages. *Emunctorium* was the name for snuffers among the Romans, and in our own country they were used for snuffing the candles in the churches, though perhaps not generally used by society till a comparatively late period. The Anglo-Saxons called them "candel snytels."

custom was kept up to the present day. The practice at many places on Christmas Eve was to roast apples on a string till they dropped into a large bowl of spiced ale, which was then called "lamb's wool."

BONFIRES.

In the seventeenth and a part of the following century, "bonefires" were much approved of as a means of public hilarity. They were resorted to on all occasions of national and local festivity, but chiefly on the anniversaries of the Restoration and the Gunpowder Plot. Coal and faggots were regularly charged upon the city funds for that purpose, and a plentiful supply of ale was handed round to the rejoicing mob, while, for the greater facility of procuring it, the bonfires were frequently held in the streets, in the front of some one of the principal hostels, though usually the demonstration took place before the Guildhall. This favourite means of festivity would probably not have declined so soon but for the numerous and destructive fires which happened in this city before thatch and timber had given way to less combustible materials. In the year 1789 an item of 2s. 6d. appears charged for the bellman crying an order to make no bonfires or fireworks on the 5th of November, although for many years previously both appeared to have been in high favour with the municipal authorities, and to have formed regular items of expenditure. From the date of that order the bonfires were banished to the suburbs, and the custom yet lingers in our rural districts.

Coincident with this mode of public rejoicing, it was the custom to give ale to the prisoners, to put wine into the conduit (then at the Cross), to call in the services of the "waytes," and to dress up the "picture" (*i. e.*, statue) of the king at the Cross. This was probably the statue of Charles I, which then stood in a niche in front of the city reservoir at the Cross, and was

afterwards removed and placed in front of the present Guildhall. The statue then at Sidbury gate, Habingdon thinks, was that of King John; but in the chamberlains' books in the year 1628 a charge is made "for repairing Sidbury gate and wall, and for gilding the picture of King Edgar." Both the gate and statue were removed about the year 1768.

PERAMBULATIONS

were likewise a fertile source of popular "jollification," in which hard drinking and practical joking formed the principal ingredients. By a document, dated 1497, I find that constables were sworn in and instructed how to lead the perambulatory procession, thus—

"Where at the furst begynyng Master Baillies and Richd Litelton, recorder, byfore dyverse and meny persons opynly in the yeldhall deposid and swore upon a booke, Willm Turner, Will Garewey, John Roberts, John Grove, Ric. Careless, Thomas Glover, and Thomas Gold, referes, that they shuld be the leaders of the perambulacon, and for no fav^{r}, love, nor affection that they owe to the citie, nor for hate ne malice that they shuld owe unto the p^{r}ory or eny other partye, they shuld not otherwise goe then they have goon and knowen to be goon in tymes passed: and ov^{r} that hit whas ordered that every person goyng in this perambulacon shuld walk as peaseable men, having no armur ne wepyn defencible, but oonly small walkyn staffs and o^{r}."

The exact direction and limits of the city boundary were then pointed out. A boat or barge was hired to carry the party over the Severn, and a man with a plank to help them over the ditches; while the best mode was taken of perpetuating a popular recollection of the line of territory by partaking liberally of wine, ale, beef, and tobacco, at various stages of the route, and distributing ale and money to poor women and others at St. Mary's Steps, in Edgar Street.

PROCESSION TO ST. JOHN'S.

One of the grand events of the year was the annual procession of the bailiff (or mayor) to St. John's, which is a village divided

from the western side of the city by the river Severn. In this ancient pendicle (which, in spite of the Municipal Reform Act, retains even to the present day the *esprit de corps* derived from old recollection of its privileges and importance, and revives a shadowy grandeur by the yearly election of officers whose proceedings afford at least profit to the tapsters and fun to the local journals) an annual fair was held upon the Friday preceding Palm Sunday, and upon that day did the civic dignitaries of Worcester, attended by their customary officers, walk in procession through the village, over which, however, notwithstanding this parade, they possessed no authority, it being situated without the limits of their jurisdiction. The custom was of a remote origin, and is said to have originated in an agreement with the prior and convent and the bailiffs and aldermen, that if the latter would not obstruct them in laying and keeping down the pipes by which they brought Henwick water to the cathedral, the corporation might bear their mace within the bounds of the sanctuary and also of St. John's, which belonged to the convent. The pipes were every where torn up during the Civil Wars. The constable having "cried the fair," the party would adjourn to the Swan or Bell (both noted houses two centuries ago) and there run up a pretty score for the city funds. Not content with this, his Worship and Co. would sometimes cause their august bodies to be conveyed thither (a distance of only a few hundred yards) in a vehicle, for in 1732 occurs an item of 9d. "p^d^ turnpike for coach to St. John's ffair." From the before going premises, however, it is probable the coach was employed in coming *from* the fair, the civic party being then unquestionably in a more unfit state to "do the locomotive" on their own account. The potations were repeated also on arriving in the city, for in 1656 is a charge made for "wine spent at St. John's faire, and after the return of Mr. Maior, aldermen, and constables therefrom." It was at length

deemed advisable to compound with his worship for a fixed annual sum for this purpose, and accordingly £5 was granted to him yearly, besides certain charges for the constables.

VISITATIONS.

The periodical journeys of the corporation to inspect their distant property were events likewise considered as calling for a marked and decided celebration in accordance with the most approved custom of the day. There were lands at Longdon, a school at Kempsey, and a school, hospital, &c., at Gloucester, which required this municipal visitation. The school at Gloucester was probably charity property, of which the corporations of those days being trustees, generally acted on the good and fundamental maxim, that "charity begins at home," bestowing a good per centage of the funds on their own "inside lining," and the bulk of the patronage on themselves and favourites. The Worcester corporation were probably the appointed visitors of the school at Gloucester, of which the corporation of the latter city would be the trustees, who, perhaps, in their turn acted as visitors for similar institutions in our own county. This reciprocal kind of inspection—according to the old Scotch adage, "claw me, claw thee"—was ludicrously inconsistent with modern notions of the fitness of things. Some of the chamberlains' items of expense incurred in visiting the school at Gloucester are startling, and will serve to throw some light on the manners and habits of the period. In the year 1699 were made the most extensive "disbursements in visiting the school and hospital at Gloucester, and viewing the causey there." A barge was hired from Upton, and a plentiful supply of good things was stowed away on board: a prime "rib of ox beefe" was roasted for the occasion, which, with other garniture, including "bread, cucumr, ale, wine, candles, tobacco, pipes, &c., taken on the barge to eat and use

going down," amounted to £3. 1s. 5d. The party took their own plates,* and a tablecloth was hired, which was afterwards charged for as having been spoiled, but by what means the otherwise minute and painstaking historiographer is silent. Then follow these items :

	s.	d.	
"Fetching the flags from Bewdley and putting them up	1	10"	
"Paid the ringers at Tewkesbury going down . .	5	0"	
"Ale on board sent for	0	8"	
"D° given to watermen	3	6"	

The watermen were kept on board wages while at Gloucester. Gifts were presented to the school boys and hospitallers, also to the prisoners and poor of Gloucester ; the ringers and waits were handsomely fee'd, and the two corporations hob-a-nobbed together in alternate visits at the Guildhall and the "New Beare." In order to accommodate so large a conflux of the collected wisdom and jollity of the two cities, mine host of the Bear was fain to take down a partition in his great room. The bill on that occasion was—

"P^d the maister of the inn	£13	6	8"
"Vintners' bill	32	10	10"
"Cook's bill	9	6	8"
"Crabs and lobsters	0	6	0"

Nothing daunted at this enormous outlay, a supply of wine, brandy, ale, tobacco, and pipes, was taken on the barge at Gloucester, "to be used and spent in coming up," which cost the further sum of £1. 10s. 6d., besides a supply of bread, cheese, and cider, at the Lode, Tewkesbury, probably for the ringers of that town. It seems likewise that the bells of all the steeples in Worcester hailed the return home of the corporation, it being thought, most probably, that the less they absented themselves from home the better it would be for the public purse. Seven or eight years afterwards a sum not exceeding

* This probably means the corporation plate. In the year 1760 an entry was made of 10s. paid for plate duty.

£40 was allowed the mayor "for his journey to Gloucester, with such other of the chamber as shall think fit to goe, to see after the free school and other business there;" and in the year 1728 an order was made

"That Mr. Maior visit the charity at Gloucester, and that such of the members as have a mind may goe, and to find their own horses, and that the expense be paid by the city."

It was, however, reserved for the year 1787 to witness the acmé of civic extravagance in Worcester, for we then find an order—

"That a bowling-green be made in and upon the gardens near St. Martin's Gate, and in the possession of Messrs. Hopley and Hanbury, for the use and amusement of the corporation."

This was the origin of the green which is still in existence at the back of the Pheasant Inn, New Street.

GIFTS AND ENTERTAINMENTS.

To be constituted a member of the "24" or "48" was evidently a thing to be desired in those days, when that august and self-important body made ducks and drakes of the public money without any fear of the condemnation of public opinion. Not less profuse were they in hospitality and bountiful gifts to all the great men with whom they were in any way connected. The judges, bishops, recorders, &c., were treated chiefly to claret, sack, and loaves of sugar (which latter article was much used in making sack). In 1626 the singular donation of twelve cheeses, carriage paid, was made to Sir T. Coventry, the lord keeper of the great seal of England, and at that time recorder of this city; the cost was 22s. In 1630 wine and sugar were given to Mr. Tombes, a lecturer, at his first coming to this city, and a like present "to a preacher that was recommended by Dr. Benson to the citie, and who preached twice at All Saints." In 1657 wine and sugar were "sent to the minister that

preached at the college the first humiliation day after the beginning of the accountant's office." This was one of the many fast days proclaimed during the canting period of the Commonwealth. The priest, it seems, was compensated by an abundance of sack for his advocacy of the principle of fasting and humiliation. Here is another specimen :

1658.—"For a pottle of sack given to four ministers who preached and prayed Dec. 27, on the fast day, 4s."

In 1659 the Chief Baron Wilde was treated to a lamprey pie and salmon, and subsequently the following entries occur :

"Twelve lampries to make fower pies presented to the Lord General and to the Lord Chief Baron	£01 09 00"
"To Luke Hodges, for materials and making the said pies	01 06 06"
"Eight lampries to make two pies presented to Mr. Lechmor and Mayor Salloway, (M.P.s) .	00 18 08"
"Pd Ed. Reddinge for meale, butter, biscuits, and his labour for making them	00 11 00"
"Carriage of the sd pies to London . . .	00 12 00"

Twelve shillings (nearly equal to £10 of our present money) for carrying a few pies to London!

Members of parliament, too, regularly received a fillip from their constituents on new year's day.

1641.—"Payed for two pyes and for capons sent to Mr. Ald. Cowcher and Mr. Ald. Nashe, the citizens for the Parliament, as a New year's gift	03 02 06"

For the costly presents made to the Stuarts and the officers of the armies during the Civil Wars: see the chapter devoted to that subject.

In the year 1666 the expense of £10. 14s. 0d. was incurred by the chamberlain under the head of "Mr. Gratrix's entertainment;" and in a side note it is explained, that "this was an

Irishman famous for helping and cureing many lame and deseased people only by stroaking of their maladies with his hand, and therefore sent for to this and many other places." It appears that this fortunate individual (who seems to have been an ancestor of the mesmerisers of the present day) was entertained with great state and hospitality at many of the citizens' houses. In 1698, £10 was expended on a piece of plate to Mr. John Hughes, the chamberlain, for his great care and pains in repairing the bridge. This is the earliest instance I remember to have met with of the now hackneyed and every-day compliment of presentations of plate.

In 1726 occurs this item:

"Paid Mr. Osman, confectioner, for biskets, &c., to treat Sir John Pakington's daughters, when they came to see the hall [then newly built], 1s 6d."

It seems that no person who had the remotest claim on the hospitality and benevolence of the civic body was allowed to depart out of "the faithful city" without experiencing it to the full. The following are instances:

1572. "Item—given to heal a poor lame man, twelve-pence."

"Item—to Samuel Purzett, towards the healyng of his thombe and hurt of the same, in withstanding of the pytchers at Mr. James' commandment, then being lowe baylie, 10s."

(*Temp.* James I.) "For money geven to a poor man who had been taken by a Turk, 2s."

1625. "To Davie Done, a pore scholler, 2s6d."

1634. "Item—to John Hichcope, towards the losse of his sowe that was burnt, 13s 4d."

1649. "To a pore minister, by order of the mayor, 18d."

Admirable beneficence this, which can at once estimate the claims of seedy literature and divinity, and the value of over-toasted bacon! I find an item in 1577 of two oxen having been "given to the Bishop on coming to this city, being the Lord Vice-President of the Queen's Council in the Marches."

The bishop reciprocated on frequent occasions, by inviting his worship and his coadjutors to dine at Hartlebury, and this practice is recorded on the books up to the middle of the last century; the corporation invariably taking "something short" at Ombersley, to enable them to complete the journey without exhaustion. The first mention of a turnpike tax in this neighbourhood was in one of these Hartlebury journeys, in 1726.* The prelate, however, was not the only party favoured with visits:

1732.—"Spent at Mr. Habberley's, at a meeting about the exhibits, 2s6d; at receiving the exhibits, 1s."

There is also a charge of 5s. (in 1780) "for seeing the menagerie at Croome" (the Coventry family having kept a small zoological garden till within the present century); and in 1778 an entry of 5s. "pd for seeing the Irish giant, per order of the Mayor" !!!†

RETRENCHMENT.

I have now enumerated a tolerably lengthy catalogue of civic festivities and extravagancies. Let us next examine the causes

* The first Turnpike Act was passed soon after the Restoration of Charles II, under which a small toll was laid on part of the road from York to London, for its necessary repair. Some of the best roads were in those days almost impassable at certain periods of the year. When Prince George of Denmark visited Petworth, it is recorded that he was six hours going nine miles. Oxen and teams of farm horses were frequently necessary to drag carriages from out of the mire. Hence even the gentry but seldom stirred from home. The Turnpike Act was, however, for a long time viewed as an unconstitutional innovation, and many a gate fell beneath the vengeful arm of Rebecca and her daughters. The first Turnpike Act in Worcestershire was passed in 1713, for amending the road from Worcester to Droitwich, which had been previously almost impassable for wheel carriages, and the salt was carried on pack horses, consequently the trade was very confined, as appears by the corporation books, where an entry is made of a reward given to a certain trader for extending the salt trade as far as Gloucester! Thus, for want of that facility of communication which we now possess, the inhabitants of a given town were deprived of some of those very necessaries of life which, in a spot but a few miles distant, were a positive drug.

† The skeleton of this Irish giant (O'Brien) is now in the College of Surgeons, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, and is more than eight feet high.

of their decline. The Civil Wars proved a ruinous tax upon the loyalty of Worcester, and the loans which were raised here, added to the great injury done to trade and property (as I have elsewhere shown), had the effect of crippling the energies of the city for many years, which were further depressed by a subsequent engagement in expensive law suits. In 1655 I find an order:

"That the chamberlain is not to spend more than £5 on any one thing without special consent;"

but this mandate was afterwards rescinded in favour of a handsome cushion which cost £7; and in 1706 it was ordered:

"That for the space of three years next ensuing there be no public money allowed to be spent upon any thanksgiving or rejoicing day exceeding the sum of 20s at any one time,"

and even this sum was to be exclusively applied to the then favourite diversion of a bonfire. Marlborough's victories were at that time coming thick and fast upon the English nation, when Blenheim and Gibraltar were in every one's mouth. Nothing therefore but a miserably low exchequer would have excused so shabby an order as the above. In 1711 the accounts of Mr. John Floyer and Mr. Simon Parker, the chamberlains, were overhauled for an excess of £102. 10s. 8d. expended upon wine contrary to the chamber orders; and although, by the auditors' recommendation, the amount was ultimately paid, a determination was evinced to keep a stricter eye for the future on such extravagant irregularities. In 1736, in consequence of the injury done to chairs and tables that had been lent out of the hall, it was ordered that henceforth they should not be lent except to the dean and chapter and judges. In 1737 the corporation were compelled to borrow the sum of £1,000 from Dr. Attwood, at an enormous interest, and some years afterwards a similar sum from Dr. Thompson, on still worse terms. No wonder then at such an order as the following:

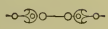
"That at all future entertainments of this corporation the expense of the dinners shall not exceed 2s. 6d. ordinary for each person that dines, and 1s. for every servant attending; and that for the future there shall be no grand jury dinners at the expense of this body, nor on the 5th November, nor on the 29th May, but the entertainment in the evening of the latter day at the hall as usual."

This was in 1771; but two years before that time another bold stroke at ancient customs had been aimed in the council chamber:

"Ordered, that the allowance of £24 a year to the Miss Hoopers for providing lodging for the judges at assizes, and the presents usually sent 'em by this corporation for their services here, be no longer continued, the same being, in the opinion of this body, an improper application of part of the small revenue of this corporation; and that Lord Dudley and Ward [then recorder] be requested to notify the same to the judges."

This, then, was the commencement of that spirit of reform which at length was fully developed and carried out in the Municipal Corporations Act—a statute which, like a besom in the hand of Hercules, swept out an Augean stable of corruption and abuse unprecedented in the history of this country. In the year 1836 the old dynasty became defunct; and all books, papers, and records, were handed over to the new body, together with an inventory of what the outgoing corporation called their "personal property." How their successors will have acquitted themselves in the improved management of the public funds I leave for the future historian to relate.

Municipal Report.



THE following is the Report of the Municipal Commissioners, so far as relates to the city of Worcester, which was ordered by the House of Commons to be printed in 1835. Although in the course of these pages I have made frequent reference to the report, and have selected one or two extracts therefrom, it has nevertheless occurred to me that my own treatise on the constitution, functions, acts, and revenues, of the old corporation would not be complete without the addition of that succinct and, as I believe, in every way, accurate document. I therefore present it at once, without further preface or comment:

REPORT.

1. The limits of the corporate jurisdiction comprehend the greater part of the city of Worcester, excepting the Close, and the parish of St. Michael's: they are correctly described in the map annexed to the Report of the Boundary Commissioners, and contain a population of about 18,600. The boundary set out by the Reform Act contains a population of about 25,000.

2. The first Charter of Worcester, which is dated in the 1st year of the reign of Richard I (1189), is merely a grant of the whole town to the burgesses of Worcester, at a yearly rent of £25. This grant was confirmed by a charter of the 11th year of

Henry III (1227), which raised the annual rent to £30, and gave the burgesses a guild merchant, exemption from tolls throughout England, and various other privileges and immunities now of no value. By a charter passed in the 40th year of the same reign (1256), the king granted to the citizens the return of writs. The 12th of Edward III confirmed several former charters, and granted some further liberties; amongst which the most important were, that the citizens should not be impleaded out of the city, and that they should plead their own pleas without the interference of the king's justices. The liberties granted by the above charters were confirmed by charters of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI, Edward IV, and Henry VII; and in the 1st and 2nd years of the reign of Philip and Mary (1554) a charter was granted, which, after confirming previous liberties, and declaring Worcester to be a city of itself, incorporated the citizens by the names of "The Bailiffs, Aldermen, Chamberlains, and Citizens of the City of Worcester." In this charter the peculiar constitution of the common council, as hereinafter described, first appears. The present governing charter is the 19th of James I (1622), which confirms all previous charters, and constitutes the city and liberties of Worcester a county by itself, separate from the county of Worcester.

3. The title of the corporation is "The Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of the City of Worcester;" and the body consists of,

A body of 24 persons, called the "Capital Citizens and Councillors of the City," of which body the mayor and six aldermen always form a part; and another body of 48 persons, called the "Capital Citizens, of the number 48."

These two bodies united constitute the Common Council of the city, which has the management of the affairs of the corporation, and the power of making by-laws, and all orders respecting the funds or other concerns of the corporation.

4. Upon a vacancy in the body of 24 "capital citizens and

councillors of the city," a majority of that body, within fifteen days, elect a successor out of the body of 48 capital citizens. A member of the 24 may be removed by the residue of that body, or a majority of them, for misgovernment, absence, or non-residence within the city for one whole year, voluntarily absenting himself from any court or convocation of common council of the city, after sufficient summons given, or for any other reasonable cause.

5. Upon a vacancy in the body of 48 capital citizens, that body, within fifteen days, proceed to elect a new member out of the freemen of the city, nominated by the two treasurers and the rest of the body in rotation. Thus, if there be only one vacancy, the senior treasurer nominates a freeman; if two, the two treasurers one each; if three, the two treasurers and the senior forty-eight-man one each; and so on through the whole body of 48. The election is by ballot; and if the person nominated by the senior treasurer be thrown out by a majority of votes, the person nominated by the junior treasurer is next balloted for; if *he* be thrown out, the person nominated by the senior forty-eight-man; and so on in rotation.

It will be perceived, from the foregoing statement, that the governing body of the corporation is self-elected; and it appears that no Dissenters, of any denomination, have been admitted. However, very few elections have taken place since the repeal of the Test Act.

6. The officers are, a Mayor, Recorder, six Aldermen, a Sheriff, Town Clerk, four Auditors, two Chamberlains, two Coroners, ten Surveyors, a Sword Bearer, four Sergeants-at-Mace, four Mayor's Officers, and a Water Bailiff and Coal Weigher, besides several subordinate officers whose duties have become obsolete.

7. The Mayor is elected by a majority of the common council annually, on the Monday after St. Bartholomew's-day, from among the 24 "capital citizens and councillors."

He acts as chief magistrate, and presides in the criminal and civil courts of the city, as hereinafter described. By virtue of his office he is also a commissioner under several local Acts of Parliament. The privileges attached to his office are merely formal, and he has no salary. The incidental Emoluments of the mayor do not exceed £45 per annum, and are derived from the following sources:

1st, A sum of 2s. received upon every lease granted by the corporation, in lieu of capons. This amounts upon an average to about £32 per annum.

2d, A fee of 2s., called "sign money," upon renewing the licences of public-houses. The number of licensed public-houses within the jurisdiction of the corporation is at present 109, so that the amount of emolument derived by the mayor from this source does not much exceed £10 per annum.

3d, A fee of one guinea upon his taking an acknowledgment from a married woman to bar her dower. This perquisite could not at any time have been considerable, and at present it scarcely exceeds two guineas per annum. It is usual, when the funds of the corporation will admit of it, to allow the mayor £150 towards an official dinner given to the inhabitants of the city and of the county of Worcester. The expense of the dinner is, in general, nearly double the amount allowed by the corporation.

8. The Recorder, who is required by the charter to be a person learned in the law, is elected by the majority of the 72 persons forming the common council, and hold his office during their pleasure.

He is a Justice of the Peace within the city by virtue of his office, and, with the mayor and alderman, a Judge of the criminal and civil courts.

A salary of £4 per annum which was formerly paid to him has been long since discontinued. The present recorder is the

Earl of Coventry. He does not discharge the duties of his office in person.

9. The Aldermen are annually elected on the same day with the mayor, by the common council, out of the body of 24 "capital citizens and councillors."

They are Justices of the Peace, and Judges in the criminal and civil courts, by virtue of their office; but have no salaries or emoluments.

In consequence of a death since the last election, the number of aldermen is at present incomplete.

The mayor, recorder, and aldermen (of whom the mayor and recorder must be two), are, by the charter of James, constituted justices of gaol delivery; but it is believed that no session of gaol delivery was ever holden by the city magistrates, as no entry or record of such a session is found amongst the papers and books of the corporation.

10. The Sheriff is elected by the common council from amongst themselves, at the same time as the mayor and aldermen.

His functions are of the usual kind; such as executing process, and the like, and his duties are always performed by an under-sheriff. He has no salary, but his bill of cravings is paid out of the corporation funds.

11. The Town Clerk, who is required by the charter to be a person skilled in the law, is elected by the majority of the common council, in the same manner as the recorder. He also holds his office during the pleasure of the body by whom he is elected.

His duties are to keep the records, manage the law business of the corporation, and to assist the magistrates in the administration of justice. He has no salary as town clerk, but as clerk of the audit he receives £3. 10s. per annum. His emoluments are the usual professional charges for drawing leases and per-

forming other professional business incidental to his office as town clerk. The present town clerk is a barrister, resident at Worcester.

12. The Auditors are elected by the common council, at the same time as the mayor and aldermen: two of them are chosen from the body of "capital citizens and councillors," and the two others from the "capital citizens of the number of 48."

Their duties are to investigate the accounts of the revenue and expenditure of the corporation. They render their audited account, signed by themselves, annually to the common council; but it is not otherwise made public. They have no salary or emoluments.

13. The Chamberlains are annually elected, at the same time as the mayor and aldermen, by the common council, out of the "capital citizens of the number of 48."

Their business, which is performed by a deputy called a Vice-chamberlain, is to receive the rents, and keep all the accounts of the corporation. The chamberlains receive no salary or emoluments for themselves, but the vice-chamberlain receives £60 a year from the corporation funds.

14. The Coroners are elected by the common council from the freemen of the city, and hold their offices during pleasure. They have no salary or emoluments beyond the usual fees of their office.

15. The office of Surveyor is not mentioned in the charter of James I, nor in any of the earlier charters; but by ancient custom ten surveyors have been annually appointed by the common council out of their own body.

Their duties are in general to survey the property of the corporation, and in particular to value and report respecting tenements when fines are taken upon renewals. They have no salary or emoluments.

16. The Sword Bearer is annually elected by the common council.

The functions of his office are little more than those which its name imports. He receives a salary of one guinea a month from the corporation, and is permitted to take to his own use certain small tolls upon articles sold in the market, amounting to about £50 per annum. He is also entitled to a fee of 2s. 6d. from every freeman upon his admission.

17. The Sergeants-at-Mace are elected by the common council, and hold their offices during pleasure.

Their business is to make arrests, and generally to execute civil process. They have no peculiar privileges, but each of them has a monthly salary of 25s., and is entitled to a small fee upon the service of process; to a fee of 1s. on admissions of freemen by servitude, and to a fee of 1s. 7½d. on admissions by purchase.

18. Mayor's Officers are not mentioned specifically in any of the charters; but by the charter of James I, the common council are authorized to appoint inferior officers: these officers are at present appointed by the mayor.

They act as a part of the police of the city, and receive at present 10s. a week for their services.

19. The Water Bailiff is elected annually by the common council.

His duty is to superintend the navigation of the river Sevren at Worcester, and also to attend to the landing of coals on the quay to persons not freemen; foreigners being liable to a small toll or duty on landing coals. This was formerly an office of considerable emolument, but since the opening of the Birmingham Canal, the net produce of the fees does not exceed £3 per annum.

20. The body of 48 capital citizens appoints two Treasurers annually. Their office is honorary, but they have in succession a precedence in the nomination of persons offered to the choice of the body to fill up a vacancy. Formerly the junior treasurer

of one year served as senior treasurer the next; at present, both treasurers are elected annually, and serve the office only one year.

21. Persons become Freemen of the city by birth, purchase, servitude, or gift.

The first son born to a freeman after his admission is thereby entitled to his freedom. If that son dies, the next son in succession has not the same privilege.

The service of an apprenticeship of seven years to a freeman of the city entitles the party serving to his freedom.

The common council create freemen upon payment of a fine. For upwards of twenty years the sum demanded has been £20. There have been instances of the admission of single women for the purposes of trade: the widow of a freeman is entitled to trade.

The common council also confers the freedom of the city, by gift, to distinguished persons and others. If the party so admitted pays a fee of 6s. 8d., he is entitled to vote in the election of members of parliament for the city; if he pays no fee, he has no vote.

A person entitled to admission by birth or servitude makes out his claim and enrols it in the city court of record. If there be any formal defect in his title, the common council exercise an equitable jurisdiction of ordering his admission, notwithstanding such defect.

Under the Reform Act, all freemen admitted in right of birth or servitude are entitled, as well as ten pound householders, to vote in the election of members of parliament. The expense of admission, including a stamp of £1., is £1. 11s. 6d., and it was complained to us that in the present state of election procedure this charge upon admissions puts it in the power of an opulent partizan, or candidate, unduly to influence a number of votes by defraying this charge. Between the 15th and 31st

of July last, just in time to get their names on the registers for the present year, no less than eighty-eight persons were admitted as freemen by birth or servitude, and, as we believe, with a view to election purposes.

From the year 1800 to 1831, both inclusive, 2,503 Freemen have been admitted, of whom 1,856 became entitled by birth and apprenticeship, 647 by purchase and gift. The average number of persons annually created freemen by gift does not exceed three or four. The number of persons at present entitled to vote as freemen in the election of members of parliament is 1,666, and there are about 1,000 non-resident freemen.

The Privileges of the freemen are, an exclusive right of carrying on trade within the city; a limited right of common over about twenty acres of land; an exemption from certain small dues levied in the market; and an exclusive eligibility to certain almshouses, pursuant to the wills of the founders.

22. Fees on the admission of freemen are as follows:

	By purchase.			By birth or servitude.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Government Stamp . . .	3	0	0	1	0	0
Town Clerk	0	12	6	0	3	0
Sword Bearer	0	3	0	0	2	6
Four Sergeants	0	6	6	0	4	0
Four Servants	0	2	0	0	2	0
Petition	0	2	6			
£	4	6	6	1	11	6

The charter of James authorized the common council to suspend the franchise of such citizens as refuse to exercise corporate offices (excepting the recorder and town clerk), and to fine or imprison them; and accordingly, by a by-law, dated May 22, 1767, the fines to be imposed on persons refusing to serve in the

various offices of the corporation are fixed as follows: mayor, £100; alderman, £50; sheriff, £60; auditor, £30; capital citizen and councillor, £60; capital citizen of the 48, £30; surveyor, £10; constable, £10.

By a by-law of August 26, 1822, every person, not being a freeman, who exposes goods for sale, or exercises any handicraft within the city, is subjected to a fine of £5 for the first and £10 for the second offence.

23. The Courts created by the charter, are,

1. A Court of Quarter Sessions.
2. A Court of Record, called the Court of Pleas.
3. A Sheriff's Court.
4. A Court Leet. (Discontinued.)
5. A Court of Pie-Powder.

24. At the Court of Quarter Sessions, the mayor, recorder, and aldermen, or any two or more of them—the mayor *or* recorder being one—are authorized to preside, and are assisted by the town clerk. Their jurisdiction embraces the city and liberties, and applies to nearly all felonies, except such as affect life and limb. This jurisdiction is, by a charter of Philip and Mary, confirmed by the charter of James I, exclusive as to the county magistrates. The fees at these quarter sessions are the same as in the county at large.

In 1831, there were tried in this court 10 cases of felony, and 3 of misdemeanour; and in 1832, 28 cases of felony, and 8 of misdemeanour.

25. In the Court of Pleas, holden every week, the mayor, recorder, and aldermen, or any three or more of them—of whom the mayor or one of the two senior aldermen must be one—are authorized to preside. The jurisdiction of this court extends to all causes of action arising within the city and liberties, and is unrestricted as to amount. The process is by *capias*, and the

pleadings are as at common law. A table of costs accompanies this Report.

From February 1831 to February 1832, 33 actions were brought in this court; of which, 25 were settled, probably by mutual arrangement; two superseded; and two ended by payment of debt and costs. In that year it does not appear that any cause was removed, but causes are often removed by defendants to gain time. It was stated to us by a professional gentleman, practising in this court, that the business would be considerable in a court properly constituted for final decision.

26. The Sheriff's Court is held from month to month by the under-sheriff. Its jurisdiction corresponds with that of other sheriff's courts, but the amount of business transacted in it is exceedingly small.

27. The Court of Pie-Powder is held only as a matter of form.

28. The Grand Jurors are nominated by the under sheriffs according to the charter, and it is said that they are taken principally from the members of the common council. The Petty Juries at assizes and sessions are taken according to the Jury Act.

Upon trials in the court of record, the sergeants-at-mace return the names of the jury, and their qualifications are according to the Jury Act.

29. A Police Force of eighteen men has been formed at the beginning of the present year under the management of commissioners, pursuant to the statute of 4 Geo. IV (local and public). This force is in aid of the four mayor's officers, and two constables from each of seven wards of the city. The old watchmen have been discharged. The establishment of the police appears to have had a very beneficial operation, and the peace of the town is well kept.

A magistrate attends at the Guildhall every day to hear complaints, and a full petty sessions is holden every Monday.

The town is lighted with gas by a company incorporated in 1818.

30. The Poor are managed by a body incorporated by Act of Parliament in 1792, and styled "The Wardens of the Poor in the several Parishes in the City of Worcester, and of the Parishes united therewith." This body is composed of the rectors and vicars for the time being; of all persons in the respective parishes possessed of freehold or copyhold property of the yearly value of £30 or upwards; and of all persons in the respective parishes rated to the relief of the poor in respect of lands or hereditaments of the yearly value of £15, or of less value if the proprietor have also personal estate of the value of £500.

The contributions of the respective parishes are fixed by the Act in certain invariable proportions; proportions which are said now to affect the rate with inequality, inasmuch as since the year 1792 the increase in wealth and population has been very different in different parishes. Great inconvenience is also experienced with respect to removals, and otherwise, from the circumstance of a portion of the town, called Blockhouse, being extra-parochial.

The poor rates of the united Parishes amounted in 1824 to . .	£2477	16	0
In 1825	2592	0	0
1826	2783	0	0
1827	2783	0	0
1828	2708	0	0
1829	3469	0	0
1830	3758	0	0
1831	3126	0	0
1832 . (Cholera.) .	4692	0	0

In the parish of St. Peter, a suburb of the town included in the local Poor Act, the rate amounted for the year ending,

March 25, 1826, to . . .	£590	8	4½
March 25, 1833, to . . .	950	13	7

The population of the united parishes and St. Peter's is somewhat more than 19,000.

The persons relieved, at least in the united parishes, are principally glovers. There are at present in these parishes about 400 cases in which relief is administered to the labouring class out of the house of industry. Only infants and very aged persons are placed in the house of industry.

31. The sheriffs and magistrates have the superintendence of the City Gaol, and two magistrates are appointed at every quarter sessions as visiting magistrates. The gaol was built in 1823, and is well regulated, but insecure.

32. The Revenues of the corporation are derived chiefly from the rents of houses and gardens, fines upon renewals, and fines upon the admission of freemen.

Upon an average of the last seven years, the rents and some small tolls amount to about . . .	£900	0	0	℔ annum.
Fines on Renewals	700	0	0	„
Fines on Admission	400	0	0	„
	£2,000	0	0	

On an average of the preceding seven years the revenue was much less. Of this revenue the corporation receives about £150 as trustees for certain charities.

The houses and gardens appear to be in the hands of about 470 occupiers, and are for the most part demised for terms of years at a small nominal rent, renewable at certain intervals upon payment of a fine of one year's value. In that value it is the custom, as in other corporations, not to include improvements or erections made since the preceding fine.

The corporation, in the year 1822, were considerably in debt, so much so, as to be obliged to borrow from 20 of their members £50 each. These sums were paid off out of their savings, in the year 1824, during which time the mayor's feasts were suspended. Some time since a sum of money was also raised, by mortgage of the corporation estates, for the purpose of purchasing houses and land for the erecting a market-house; before which time the market was held in the public streets: and the debt on the market-house, in the year 1829, amounted to the sum of £5,300. The sum of £3,500 now remains due on mortgage, the remainder of the debt having been paid off.

The corporation keep in repair the Town-hall, which is used for the county sessions and assizes, and for other general business connected with the county at large as well as the city. They have also largely subscribed towards the improvement of the town, and repairing churches, and annually pay to the Good Friday and St. Thomas's Day charities considerable sums out of their own funds. The corporation also pave the High Street.

The following is an account of two years' receipts and expenditure, and an average of seven years.

RECEIPTS OF THE CORPORATION FOR

	1831.			1832.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Rents, &c.	844	8	6	1007	0	9
Freedoms	355	13	4	335	13	4
Renewals	899	6	9	798	12	6
	£2099	8	7	2141	6	7

DISBURSEMENTS FOR 1831 AND 1832.

	1831.			1832.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1. The Mayor, toward his feast	150	0	0	150	0	0
2. Mortgages and interest to Wimwood paid off .	821	19	0			
3. Salaries, wages, &c. .	251	12	0	244	15	0
4. Hallkeeper . . .	5	15	10	11	19	3
5. Pavier . . .	52	10	0	53	17	0
6. Annual payments to charities, interest of money, donations, and annual subscriptions* . .	310	5	3	300	8	9
7. Dinners, wine, &c. . .	349	14	5	254	15	9
8. Coals, candles, and gas	32	9	1	26	2	2
9. Draper, mercer, tailor, and shoemaker . . .	106	12	11	56	16	10
10. Mason, whitesmith, carpenter, glazier, painter, &c.	159	6	1	298	18	5
11. Sheriff's cravings, law charges, town clerk's office, printing, and stationery	232	3	5	230	18	5
12. Processions, perambulations, &c. . . .	54	8	6	39	10	0
13. New tables and fire buckets	554	3	0			
14. Taxes, poor's rates, insurance, and sundries .	83	10	2	89	11	0
	£2665	10	11	1757	12	7

* DETAIL OF ITEM 6, FOR 1832.

Subscriptions and donations:

	£.	s.	d.
To Cholera Fund	21	0	0
To Infirmary	21	0	0
To Dispensary	10	10	0
To New Worcester Library	10	0	0
Carried forward	£62	10	0

Subscriptions and donations continued:

	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward	62	10	0
To Worcester Race Fund	30	0	0
To Good Friday Charity	13	13	0
To St. Thomas's Day Charity	53	5	0
To National School	21	0	0
To Cholera Fund (collection at the Cathedral)	10	0	0
To Visiting Society	5	5	0
To Worcestershire Society in London	5	5	0
To One Year's Soup for the Poor	17	0	0
To Geary's Charity, one year's Interest on £300	15	0	0
To Wyatt's Charity	15	0	0
To Norton's and Shepherd's Charity	15	0	0
To Inglethorpe's Charity, on £700	35	0	0
Interest on £50 left by Steward, given to poor women in the Trinity, on the 2nd February	2	10	9
	£300	8	9

RECEIPTS FOR SEVEN YEARS.

	£.	s.	d.
Renewals	4825	19	9
Freedoms	3052	16	8
Rents, &c.	5685	16	6
Sundries	1135	7	5
	£14,700	0	4

DISBURSEMENTS FOR SEVEN YEARS.

	£.	s.	d.
The Mayor annually allowed £150	1050	0	0
Charities, interest, donations, annual payments	1996	11	8
Salaries, wages, &c.	1556	12	9
Pavier	384	10	8
Dinners, &c.	790	6	0
Wine, &c.	1056	4	10
Coals, candles, and gas	221	5	2
Mercer, draper, tailor, &c.	575	12	1
Carried forward	£7631	3	2

Disbursements for seven years continued:

	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward	£7631	3	2
Mason, carpenter, plasterer, smith, glazier, painter, and repairs	2264	11	9
Sheriff, law charges, printer, stationer, town clerk's office, &c.	1215	1	8
Processions, perambulations, &c. . .	249	11	0
Taxes, poor rates, insurance, and sundries .	535	10	7
Paid off mortgages and debt to charities .	2132	15	1
	£14,028	13	3

From the foregoing account it appears, that upon an average revenue of £2,000 a year, about £265 is expended on dinners and wine, and £300 on eleemosynary purposes. The sum received, however, by the corporation, as trustees for charities in the town, does not, upon an average, appear to exceed £150 a year. A detailed account of those receipts will be found in the Report of the Commissioners for inquiring concerning Charities.

33. The objects of the various charities in the city, with the exception of those which are under the government of the six masters, are nominated by the common council. That body also nominates certain students at the Universities, not exceeding 14 in number, to the enjoyment of some exhibitions of £30 a year, paid out of Mr. Worfield's charity.

34. The Local Acts relating to the city are as follows:

2 and 3 Anne, c. 8; 3 George II, c. 23; 4 George II, c. 25; 32 George III, c. 99; all relating to the hop market.

31 George III, c. 59; 38 George III, c. 31; 44 George III, c. 35; 48 George III, c. 49; 55 George III, c. 66; relating to the Worcester and Birmingham Canal.

32 George III, c. —, for uniting the parishes in the management of the poor.

56 George III, c. —, 57 George III, c. —, for repairing roads leading into and from the city.

58 George III, c. —, for lighting the city with gas.

4 George IV, c. —, for better supplying the city with water, and more effectually lighting, paving, and watching it.

35. The General State and Prospects of the town depend in a great degree upon the state of its principal manufactures.

Porcelain and gloves are the chief productions of Worcester, but the manufacture of gloves employs the greater proportion of the capital and labour of the town. Within a few years the capital employed in gloving, and the quantity of gloves produced, is said to have decreased nearly a third. In 1825, as we are informed, there were 135 master manufacturers. In the present year there are only 94.

Much evidence was laid before us on this subject. The result upon our minds was a clear opinion, that the statements as to the distress of the glove trade at Worcester were highly exaggerated; that the ordinary rate of profit is realised in the porcelain manufacture; and that that manufacture has never been, upon the whole, in a more flourishing condition than at present.

The fines to which non-freemen are liable for trading in the town, and the price set upon the purchase of the privilege to trade, are considered to operate injuriously, not only on persons commencing business with small capitals, but also on the owners of houses, for which it is supposed there would be a greater demand, if the privilege of trading were exempted from this charge.

PEREGRINE BINGHAM.
DAVID JARDINE.

Stratford-on-Avon,
September 15, 1833.

Sanatory.

"God made the country, and man made the town:
What wonder then that health and virtue, gifts
That can alone make sweet the bitter draught
That life holds out to all, should most abound
And least be threaten'd in the fields and groves?"—

COWPER.

ALL those who have read the ancient historical chronicles of this country will be inclined to believe the assertions of modern statisticians, that notwithstanding the enormous increase of population, and the consequent extension of the areas of towns, the rate of mortality has very considerably declined, owing to the greater attention now paid to those sanatory precautions which we yet hope to see more fully and effectively carried out. The city of Worcester has experienced its full share of plague and pestilence. In April, 1342, a destructive plague broke out here; and in 1349, another visitation carried off so many of the citizens that it was deemed unsafe to admit interments of those who died of it in the cathedral cemetery; on which account the citizens obtained leave to bury at St. Oswald's. In 1558, "a sore new sickness raged in Worcestershire, thought to have been the sweating sickness;" and in 1637 a dreadful pestilence, from which the inhabitants took refuge in the island of Bevere (where they had once before secured themselves from the cruelties of Hardicanute's army), destroyed no less than 1,551 persons. The fatal gaol distemper

broke out in Worcester in 1783, and led to the erection of a new prison on the most approved sanatory principles of the day. In 1831-2 the cholera visited the city, but made only 79 victims. It was the dread of its second approach which gave an impetus to the parliamentary measures of 1848. Many other pestilential visitations have occurred at various periods, which, although not recorded in our local history, are incidentally mentioned in the corporation books. The preventive measures adopted by the ruling body apparently had no reference to the improvement of drainage, or the circulation of light, air, and water, but were confined to the removal of olfactory nuisances, and the establishment of some sort of quarantine during the actual visitation. The porcine race seems to have been an especial object of persecution. In the year 1552 the following order was made by the chamber:

"*Ffor pyggs sold be any citezens*—Hit ys enacted by the auctorrytie aforeseyde that no citezen ne inhabyter wt^n^ this citie from hencefforth doo not brynge to sell to the open m'ket no piggs, nor pyggs, to be solde to any pson or psons to the inhansynge of price of pyggs, or to the derogacon of the come'welth of this citie, laws, or ordin'cs of the same, upon payne of 6^s^ 8^d^ for ev'ry pygge so solde contr'ie to this acte and the pygge forfetede wt'all, and the p'tie so tacken in defaut to remayn w^t^out bayle and mayne price untyll such tyme the seyde penallyties be payde."

In 1602 a chamber order set forth that in consequence of "the multitude of swine that go up and down the streets, *every* PIG *found wandering within the liberties shall forfeit* 3*s.* 4*d.!*" In the by-laws it was also enacted,

"That noe person doe singe, scalde, or dress swine in High Street, or other streets, but in such baksides as are convenient;"

also,

"That every one who shall suffer their swine to go abroad within the walls of this cyttie, not being lawfully ringed, shall forfeit the like payne" (6s. 8d.);

every person to have 4d. that would pound them;

"All ducks going in the streets to be forfeited to the serjeants;"

and in consequence of the encroachments made on the common ground in Frog Lane, Cripplegate, and in various places by the city walls, an order was made "for the reformation and suppression of pigs' cots there." The singeing of pigs at All Saints Well is also complained of as a nuisance. In the ordinance book (*temp.* Henry VII) it is enacted,

"That no person, inhabitant within the walls of this citie, of what est', condition, or degree he be, have or kepe eny swene in his house, stye, or otherwise, to the dishonor of the citie, and the grete rebuke and shame of the inhabitants of the same, but oonly a boore in his stye, and the said boore ther to remayne, and not to goo at large, in peyn of forfetyng of hit, half to the bail. and half to the comons, as oftentymes as eny such boore ys found within the citie in eny of the strets at large; and yf eny person aft' the fest of the nativity of our Lord next comyng kepe eny swyne contrary to the ordinance, and true prove ys made thereupon by dew enformation or otherwise, that he forfeit for evy tyme 6^{s} 8^{d}, haf to the baill. and half to the comons: and that the chamb^{s} for the tyme being, at the tyme of their accompts be hooly charged with the paym^{t} of the s^{d} forfetts, and no peny be abreggid of that as shall belong to the comons, as they wull answer for hit at their perill."

The city of Worcester was not the only place where porkers had made themselves obnoxious, as I find by the following copy of the "Ladies' Petition to the Mayor of Bath, on the Nuisance of the Pigs in the Streets. 1801."

"Most wise and worshipful Lord Mayor,
Oh! listen to the ladies' prayer;
Let mercy in thy bosom reign,
And let not beauty plead in vain!

In Saturn's reign—those golden days,
The theme of ancient poets' praise—
Free roam'd the flocks o'er hill or wood,
And sought at large their nat'ral food;
The gods would come from regions upper,
And shake down acorns for their supper;
And you may learn, from Homer's line,
Ulysses' swineherd was divine;

Æneas, by a pig conducted,
His wandering ceased, his town constructed.
The golden scroll of lofty Fame
Records how Bladud did the same.
Hence, by the fount that ever flows,
And fraught with health to thousands flows,
Thy splendour, bright Bathonia, rose!

Respected pigs! they merit well
Appropriate meads of Asphodel;
Or, rather, be they duly led
To stubbles fair, with corn bespread—
Or where bright acorns strew the ground,
And beech-nuts fall in show'rs around.
But, ah! it grieves our hearts to meet
The straggling herd in every street;
They grunt, and strain their oblong eyes—
No food upon the pavement lies.
Shrill cries of dismal woe they utter,
And roll amidst the foulest gutter;
And rush, while madness fires their brains,
To scrub against our muslin trains!

Then hear us, O puissant Mayor,
And please the pigs, and grant our prayer!
Provide them some commodious stye,
Where the dear things at ease may lie;
Nor more through streets, unfriended, stray,
O'erthrowing ladies in their way!"

But the reason of the multitudes of pigs and ducks being found in the streets no doubt existed in the collections of filth and garbage found at almost every door. In 1627 occurs an order for the suppression of "miskins" in Powick Lane and the Trinity, but the latter seems to have stood its ground; for about sixty years afterwards it is spoken of as "an extreme nuisance, which for a long time hath been, but now more than ever was." The book of ordinances, before quoted, orders that no person "cast intralls ne fylthe of bests dong, dowste, ne corruption of his house, over Severn bridge," and makes certain regulations for the carrying on of obnoxious trades with the

least offence to the public. Tallow chandlers were instructed not to melt their tallow in any "fore street;" butchers, glovers, barkers, and saddlers, were also specially forewarned, and leather was not to be hung out to dry in the streets, *nor was fat to be poured down them except at night!* It seems that the town ditch, "Anger Lane," Dolday (or Dole-dale), "the olde gayle," the "key," and the "slypes going down to Severn," were used as depositories of filth, until places without the gates were appointed for that purpose—namely, at Diglis, at St. Martin's Gate, the gravel butts, the "loode in Sevarn," and "in the common ground beyand Sevarnbruge yf hit be no flude." These dunghills were turned to public advantage, and in the chamberlains' accounts they appeared as regular sources of income, being sometimes sold to the citizens at per load, or disposed of in the mass to a party who, in return, undertook to repair a certain extent of the public highway in the immediate vicinity of the "miskin." In 1576 an order was made, "that in consequence of the cost of the highways, no dung shall be carried away" until the person shall have compounded with the surveyors. In 1644 it was ordered to expend £35. 11s. 8d. in bringing the water from Barbourne brook into the town ditch, to avoid the nuisance of standing water and filth in that ditch; and in 1690 a curious order occurs,

"That notice be given to the bellman that no person shall sweep or cause to be swept their durt in ye gutter, except upon eny sudden raine, and so wash it down to their neighbours, to begin quarrels, upon paine of 12^d."

Luxurious days were those for the pigs!

The "soils" in front of each house, as far as the gutter, were formerly considered to belong exclusively to the proprietor of each house, whether for purposes of cleansing or repairing; and as the gutter was in the *middle* of the road, the whole street was thus provided for; but when foot pavements were con-

structed, and the gutters placed by their side, care was not taken to alter the wording of the statute, and thus the repair of the carriage-way is, in many parts of the city, a matter of dispute even to this day. Indeed, the whole repair and management of the streets requires the adoption of a more fair, economical, and uniform system.

A quarantine was adopted during the visitation of the plague:

1580.—"An order for those who have the plague to stay in their houses."

1649.—"Paid to Lawrence Eccles, when he was penned up for fear of the plague, 15s."

The "widow keeping the Bell Inn, having the infeccon, and not making the same known," was summarily punished by having her sign pulled down; and in the same year it was ordered,

"That by reason of the infeccon at this time, Mr. High Bailiff's drinking, and the general feast, shall, *for this time only*, be forborne and spared."

This was evidently looked upon at the time as the greatest sacrifice that could be made for the public health, and therefore the reluctance with which it was done, and the specific declaration that so great an act of self-denial was not to be used as a precedent. A pest-house was built "for sicke folk" in 1624, near the Grey Friars, the present City Gaol; and in October, 1648, the following order was made:

"That a letter be directed to the baylieffes of Bewdley, to intreat them to forbeare to send down the coale, and also to forbeare coming to our market until the infeccon of the plague be more abated."

In the following month the churchwardens of every parish in Worcester were instructed to "collect contributions towards those who are infected at Bewdley." The itinerant players also were, on several similar occasions, fee'd not to come into the city, and precautions were adopted not to lodge any diseased travellers. In the by-law book is the following:

"Item—that no inholder or victualler shal refuse to hoste or lodge aney pson or psons being strangers and footemen, not knowinge them to be horible deseased, and paying for that they take, uppon peyne of 6s 8d for every offence."

With all their experience of destructive epidemics and other diseases, some of the authorities of Worcester seemed not much to have considered the relation of cause and effect, for in 1636 the chapel of the cathedral charnel-house (a depository full of human bones) was fitted up as the college school! But about five years afterwards a complaint was made from the city of the damps and unwholesome smells from the charnel-house, as being prejudicial to the health of the scholars; upon which the school was removed to the refectory, where it is still held.

The greatest sanatory improvements in the city were carried out under an act of parliament, at the close of the last century, by a general paving and lighting;* and since that time, what with opening new approaches to the city, covering the town ditch, removing nuisances from the streets, and likewise the overhanging gable-houses, which narrowed the thoroughfares and prevented the passage of a requisite current of air, with many other improvements, we can scarcely form any idea, from its present state, of what ancient Worcester was, although we are even yet but on the threshold of real sanatory improvement; and this brings me to the appearance of the streets.

* The city was first paved by Bishop Giffard as early as 1281.

The Streets.

"Gaunt, ghastly, ghaist-alluring edifices,
Hanging, with threat'ning jut, like precipices;
O'erarching, mouldy, gloom-inspiring coves,
Supporting roofs fantastic, stony groves;
Windows and doors in nameless sculpture drest,
With order, symmetry, or taste unblest"—

BRIGS OF AYR.

THE state of the streets, lanes, and highways, even up to the close of the last century, was such as the present generation can scarcely conceive. Let the reader fancy he is passing through a number of long, narrow streets, unpaved, with the upper stories of the cross-timbered dwellings overhanging so much that the two sides of the streets seem to be nodding to, and within a few feet of, each other. If it be at night, the inhabitants are deluding themselves with the idea of throwing a light on his or her majesty's subjects, by each householder obeying the proclamation of the bellman to hang out a lantern at his door, which nocturnal luminaries, being composed of thick horn fixed in heavy metal frames, must have presented the appearance of an army of glow-worms, or a Chinese feast of lanterns. This luxury is not continued beyond nine o'clock, after which hour all persons of substance, or who are careful of their personal safety, in going home from tavern, counting-house, or debauch, procure an attendant with a flaring link to precede them. In this way only could they hope to escape a broken shin from the logs of timber lying about, unpleasant contact

with the heaps of manure deposited in front of the houses, or a somersault into the *saw-pits* or to the tavern cellars, which in those days yawned in the public streets to receive the passer-by, to say nothing of the drays and waggons which blocked up the passages, to the great discomfiture of all who ventured to bring vehicles through the city by night. Indeed, the streets at this period were so narrow, owing to the projecting purprestures (booths, or shop fronts), that carts and waggons scarcely ever ventured into any but the principal streets, for fear of being jammed in; and goods were accordingly carried on trucks drawn by dogs. In 1640 an order was made by the Worcester chamber, that the bellman should call every night at the houses of every one of the 24 and 48 (members of the corporation), to remind them to put out their candle and lantern. In 1669 occurs an item of a charge by the beadles for "candles when they went about to give notice to hang out lanterns." In 1699 I find the following order:

"That every person that keepeth a tavern, inn, or ale-house, within the city, or that payeth 3^{d} a week to the poor of ye parish where he liveth, shall every night in every year, from ye feast of All Saints to the Purification of Our Lady (unless ye moon's shine) hang out a light from six of ye clock until nine, under ye penalty of 6^{d} for every offence."

About the same time 4d. is charged "for a link to light the Mayor home," his worship having probably been benighted at one of those jolly carousals for which he and his cloth were so noted. In 1724 three large lanterns are ordered for the use of the corporation, no doubt to hang in front of the hall. In 1735

"For mending the Globe lantern, 7^{s} 6^{d}."

The Globe being a favourite resort of the "collective wisdom" of the "24 and 48," considerable interest must have been felt in the efficiency of its lantern, by which alone a fair start homewards could be looked for. Lamps, however, are mentioned in

Worcester as early as 1708, at which time, singularly enough, the responsibility of keeping them lighted and in repair was allotted to the churchwardens of each parish. The saw-pit and timber in Angel Lane were frequently a source of complaint, as also "the saw-pitts from Frog Gate to the Severn, whereby men commonly drive or lead their cattle to water, to avoid p'rill and danger," are ordered to be filled up ; and the stairs going down into taverns to be enclosed.

Thatch gave way generally to tiles in the seventeenth century, in obedience to an order of the Worcester chamber, and chimneys of brick were erected in lieu of wood. An ordinance, however, had been in existence ever since the time of Henry VII to the effect, that "all persons having bytts, be ready with their horses and bytts to bring wat blyng to eny citesen when eny p'ell of fuyre ys within the citie," and that four firehooks be kept, "two at the Yeldhall, the third at Allhallen Strep, and the fourth about the Cardinal Hats [an inn or tavern]; also that no chimneys of timber or thatched houses be suffered." An order against the use of timber and thatch had also been made as early as the reign of Edward IV. Timber, with lath and plaster, constituted the chief materials in buildings till the fifteenth century, when bricks began to be used in the better sort of houses.

The first mention of fire engines in this city is in 1641 :

> "For byndynge the wheels of the engine for p'vencon of fyer within this cytie, with iron bonds, and to a man half a year's pay for keeping it in order."

In the year 1658 a memorial was sent to Lord Wylde, then recorder, proposing to appropriate his salary to purchasing a water engine, as he had promised to give it up. The great fire of London seems to have excited some apprehension even at Worcester, for in 1667 an order of the chamber sets forth that, "as *the* fire engine was too large for the backsides and lanes,"

several small hand engines be obtained forthwith. At the same time it was ordered that all ricks of hay be removed out of the city. In 1719, Avery Hunt was appointed to keep the three engines in St. Nicholas's church in repair, at 40s. per annum, "and to play them four times a year for exercise."

The old Town-hall (according to Green) was a timber structure, on the same site as the present hall; it had a piazza in front, and next to Cooken Street was a range of shops, facing High Street, the back parts of which commanded a view of Nisi Prius Court in the Guildhall. At the south end of the piazza was another row of shops, adjoining to which was the principal entrance of the hall, down a flight of nearly twenty steps. The body of the hall was open to the roof, and lighted by a large window at the north end. The courts of justice were situated facing each other, at the extreme ends of the hall, and elevated considerably above the level of its general flooring. Internally, on the right of the Nisi Prius Court, advancing towards the opposite end, was the prison, the windows of which were under the piazza, and facing High Street. Nearly opposite the prison, on the left side of the Nisi Prius Court, was the residence of the gaoler, *who occupied it as a public house*, over which was a chamber for the petty jury. At the north end of the piazza was the mayor's court, near to the Crown bar. Through its entrance the judge was enabled to pass to his seat, without going down the hall steps. A large gallery was provided for auditors at the trials. Over the piazza was the council chamber, lighted by a series of small windows towards High Street. Near the window at the north end the statue of Queen Anne was in a niche. This statue is erected on the present hall. In the book of ordinances an order was made, that if any one made "durs or holes" in the walls, "to have knowledge of what is don in the s^d^ hall," he was to stop up the same forthwith on certain penalties, and also that no person play at "tenys" in the hall. In the year 1680 also

occurs this item—"Paid 6d for cleansing the hall of cobwebs." What with the holes in the walls and cobwebs on the roof, we are presented with no flattering picture of the comfort experienced by the "collective wisdom" of the city in the seventeenth century.

The general appearance of the city three centuries ago is thus described by Leland:

"The towne of Worcester, called in Welch *Caer Argo*, standeth on the left ripe of Severne, upon a ground somewhat condescending from the river. It is reasonably well wodded and well maintained. In the wall be six gates; the Bridge-gate on Severne, having a goodly square towre over it: a posterne gate, by St. Clem. church, hard by the north side of the bridge over Severne; the Fore-gate, a fayre piece of worke, standing by north; Sudbury-gate, standing east, in the way from Worcester to London; St. Martin's-gate; Trinity-gate, this is but a posterne.

"The castle stood hard on the south part of the cathedrall church, almost on Severne. It is now cleane downe, and half the base court, or area of it, is now within the wall of the close of the cathedrall church.

"The dungeon hill of the castle is a great thinge, at this tyme overgrowen with brush wood.

"This castle fell to ruine soone after the Conquest, and halfe the ground of it was given to the augmenting of the close of the priorye.

"There be divers fayre streetes in the towne well builded with timbre; but the fayrest and most celebrate street of the towne is from the bishop's palace-gate to the Fore-gate, along by north. There be two places in Worcester where the markets be commonly kept; the one is a little within St. Martin's-gate, the other is a little within Foregate.

"The cathedrall church standeth in the south syde of the

towne. There be eight parish churches in the towne, whereof St. Hellen is counted the most ancient, and it was a prebend before King Edgar's dayes to the cathedrall church of Worcester, and Bloxham, in Worcestershire, was mother.

"And I have heard, that all the churches in Worcester, afore that King Edgar sett up monks in the cathedrall church, were but chapells to the cathedrall church aforesayd.

"The Blacke Friar's house, of the foundation of Beauchampes, of Powick, stood in the north part of the towne, hard by the wall within it; and this ground is the highest plott in the towne, and hath a fayre prospect.

"There is a fayre suburbe beyond the bridge on Severne, and the inhabitants thereof much resort to St. Clemente's church, *cis pontem.*

"The bridge is a royal piece of worke, high and stronge, and hath six great arches of stone. There is a long fayre suburbe by north without the Fore-gate; and at the north-east part and very end of it, is an ancient and fayre large chapell of St. Oswald; which first was erected for monkes, then infected, or should after be infected, with leprosie. After it was changed to an hospitall, and there was a maister, fellowes, and poore folkes; but of latter tymes it was turned to a free chapell, and beareth the name of St. Oswald, as a thinge dedicated of ould time to him: and here were wont corses to be buried in time of pestilence, as in a public cemetery for Worcester.

"This chapell yet standeth, and a fayre mansion-house by it, much repayred of late tyme by one Parker, chancellour to the Bishop of Worcester, but the lands be alienated and taken awaye.

"There was a place of nunnes at the very north syde of the cemetery of St. Oswald; it was called Whilestan (Whitstan) now suppressed, the church cleane rased downe, and a farme place of the residew of the buildinges.

"There is a fayre suburbe without Sudbury-gate, and it was an hospitall, called St. Wolstan; some called it a Commanderye, where was a maister, priestes, and poore men. Some saye that it was originally of the foundation of the queene.

"One Carter, a merchant of Worcester, gave, of late tymes, landes unto it, and thereby renewed the ould foundation; and in this almes were divers merchantmen of Worcester, fallen in decaye, and also relieved. Mauresine hath suppressed this house, and now a clothier dwelleth in it. There is in this suburbe a chapell of St. Godwald. What this St. Godwald was, I could not certainely learne. Some said he was a bishop.

"There is a suburbe without St. Martin's-gate; and hereaboutes, in a lowe marish ground, was a place of Grey Freres, of the foundation of the Earles of Warwike.

"There is a chapell of St. Ursula, a little by south, without the castle garth.

"The wealthe of the towne of Worcester standeth most by drapering; and no towne of England, at this present tyme, maketh so many cloathes yearly as this towne doth.

"I marked at Worcester, that the high crestes of Malverne hilles be, to the sight, neare to Worcester, but it is six miles to great Malverne priory, which standeth at the roote of those hilles."

DESCRIPTION OF THE FRONTISPIECE.

The ground plan of the city, which forms the frontispiece of this work, is a reduced copy of an old engraving supposed to have been drawn in the year 1651, and which, I am informed, was published in one of the editions of "Boscobel," a work by Thomas Blount, a catholic lawyer, and sufferer in the royal cause. The principal streets and buildings may be readily traced, but it must be remembered that the bridge was then situate opposite to the bottom of Newport Street, and that the

opening of Bridge Street, College Street, and many other improvements, had not been made, nor were there many houses in the suburbs, a great part even of the area within the walls being laid out in fields and gardens. The city was then in the possession of Charles II, and the Scotch army, which sustained here so signal a defeat. In the east part of the plan will be seen the Fort Royal (now called the Commandery Park), well fortified, and occupied by royalist troops. An active skirmish is going on at the outposts, from the Sidbury Gate as far as Perry Wood, at the south end of which was a strong breast-work, raised by the parliamentarian army, and a battery of great guns opened against the fort. Cromwell's head quarters were at Judge Berkeley's, at Spetchley. The enemy carried the fort, put the troops to the sword for having refused to surrender, and then pointed the guns at the city, which was immediately entered by the victors, while Charles retreated to Boscobel, and thence, after many romantic adventures, to France. The trenches at Perry Wood are still in existence. The plan will be inspected with much interest by my readers who are citizens of Worcester, and they will, I think, agree with me, that this valuable relic of the past was worthy of being preserved from obscurity or destruction.

Morals of the City.

"Pars hominum vitiis gaudet constanter"—HORACE.

"O wad some power the giftie gie us
To see oursels as others see us!
It wad frae monie a blunder free us
And foolish notion:
What airs in dress and gait wad lea'e us,
And ev'n devotion!"— BURNS.

FRAUD.

AMONG the regulations against fraud and purloining I find, in the by-law book, commencing early in the seventeenth century, a direction that no clothier, while carrying on that trade, should be allowed to take a license as a victualler, for that many dishonest work-people purloined wool and cloth from their masters, and disposed of it for drink to the victuallers. It was likewise enacted—

"That no knitters of stockings shall be allowed but such as appear to Mr. Mayor to be of good behaviour, for divers of them be common locksers and resetters of yearne and woll, pilfered from the owners thereof, to the great decay of the inhabitants of this city."

Rent defaulters to the corporation are frequently mentioned as being in long arrears, and hostages, or "gages" as they were termed, were left in the chamberlains' hands in pledge of the sum due. These articles consisted chiefly of basins, ewers, pans, &c., and one "brasen potte" in particular seems to have

been handed down from one chamberlain to another for so long a period as to have been viewed in the light of a heirloom of the corporation. There were no auctioneers or monthly sale-rooms in those days.

TIPPLING

in ancient times was one of those peccadilloes which, in its worst developments, was punished by the stocks—if indeed that could be termed punishment which enabled the culprit to form a reunion with his pot companions, and repeat shamelessly in the public highway the more secret carousals of the previous night—yet we find some stringent orders made against this vicious habit.

1677.—"Whereas many lazy fellers have, to the ruine of their pore wifes and children, spent their time in kettle pinne alleys, shovell-board tables,* and such-like unlawful sports, for the p'vncion of so great evil, an order is made on Mr. Mayor and Aldermen to fine ale-house-keepers 5s in all such cases."

The churchwardens were also instructed to give in the names of "all who spent their time in foleness and tipling contrary to law, and to prosecute them, as also ballad singers and hucksters that stop the common passages in the market places."

BALLAD SINGERS.

The unfortunate fraternity of ballad singers was for a long time during the Commonwealth peculiarly obnoxious to the moral disciplinarians of Worcester.

1649—"We do order and ordain that all ballet singers shal be put out by the heels."

1653.—"It is ordered that to suppress all ballat singers, their ballats shall be burnt and themselves imprisoned by the space of three dayes."

* A game which once was in great repute with the nobility and gentry, but at length became common in all taverns. It was performed by propelling flat metal weights along the board to a certain point.

And the same punishment was adjudged to those who "sang profane songs to the dishonour of God and religion." In the ancient by-law book was this item:

"That noe pson whatever shall from henceforth be tolerated or suffered to bring to this city, upon the market dayes or any other dayes, aney ballets, and within this city and liberties of the same to sing the same, whereupon much damage and p'iudice may ensue to many of the king's majesty's liege subjects."

In 1659 it was ordered—

"That ballad singers be put in the stocks."

For many years previous to this, a "beddell of vacabunds and sturdy beggers" was mentioned, whose duty it probably was to hunt up these and such-like scurvy itinerants. He was "to have a garment of white and blue, and a staff that he may be known by." What a contrast does this present to the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, when no festivity was deemed complete which was not set off with the exercise of the minstrel's talents, who was every where received with respect.

AFFRAYS.

In the book of ordinances it is enacted, that "yf any bawds, receivers of servants and of men's children, scolders and chiders, be within the citie, and his dewly presented and found upon the law-day," to be punished according to the discretion of the bailiff. And if any citizen drew his dagger, sword, or knife, upon any person, and a jury found him guilty, to forfeit 40d. and his weapon; and if he let blood in the fray, to forfeit 6s. 8d. and his weapon. The forfeiture of these weapons is constantly mentioned in the records. By an order dated 1623 it was enacted, that "before any man be admitted a freeman, he shal bring up of his owne a holberte or partincet for the preservation of the peace, whereunto he is sworn to keep a sufficient weapon in his house." The games of "tenys, bowls, close dyte, and cards," were also prohibited by this civic statute.

BULL BAITING

was an integral part of the constitution, which was not so easily set aside as some other sports; and I find, in 1697, this item:—"Paid John Huntbach for a large bull-ring and staple at the Cross, at 4d. per lb., 4s. 6d." Mr. Wright* says that it was anciently a part of the mayor's duty to see that plenty of bulls and bears were provided for baiting. Butchers were fined for killing bulls that had not been baited. In some places the bull dogs kept by the butchers for this purpose seem to have been the terror of the town. The bull was sometimes baited before the mayor's door. The brutal sport of baiting, amongst others, was prohibited during the Commonwealth; but Mr. Macaulay says, with much show of truth, "the Puritan hated bear baiting, not because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectators."

COCK THROWING

was not denounced in Worcester till 1745, when the expense of 2s. 6d. was incurred for crying it down. This inhuman practice was one of the peculiar sports of Shrove Tuesday, and its origin has been attributed to a variety of causes: the common tradition is, that the crowing of a cock prevented our Saxon ancestors from massacreing their conquerors, the Danes, on the morning of a Shrove Tuesday, whilst the latter were asleep in their beds; but the more probable conjecture is, that the cock was originally set up as the type of our Gallic neighbours, so that each rustic, while aiming his stick at the unfortunate bird, rejoiced in the notion that if he was not knocking down a Frenchman it was something very like it. In a hamlet near Harrow-on-the-Hill the money collected at this sport was formerly applied in aid of the poor rates! as appears by a local account of receipts and disbursements:

* *Archæological Journal*, 1845.

"1622.—Rec^d for cocks at Shrovetide . .	£0	12	0"
"1628.—Rec^d for cocks in Towne . . .	0	19	10
"Out of Towne	0	0	6"

INSTRUMENTS OF PUNISHMENT.

The laws made at Worcester with the view of bridling the "mother tongue" of the fair sex may be gathered from the following:

1623.—"Allowed the money for whipping of one Rogeres, and for carrying of several women upon the gum-stoole."

The gum-stool was apparently the ducking-stool, or more properly the cucking or cuckold-stool. This was an engine for the punishment of scolds and unquiet women by ducking them in the water. Cooken or Cucken Street (as it is termed in an old corporation map) was probably the scene of these processions and "duckings" in the river. Kitcher says this machine was much in use even among the Saxons, who called it "scealding-stole." The punishment was also inflicted on brewers and bakers transgressing the law, who were thereupon, in such a chair or stool, to be ducked *in stercore* (some muddy or stinking pond). It was anciently written "gaging stole," and in Domesday, "cathedra stercoris." The practice wase vidently the same as that of "riding the skimmington" before the doors of cuckold husbands, &c.

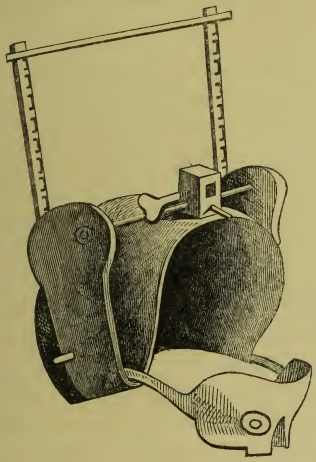
"By which hieroglyphic does appear
That the good woman is the master there."

1625.—"For mending the stocks at the Grass Crosse, for whipping of divers persons and carting of other some, and for halling the goome stoole to the houses of dvs scouldinge people."

1658.—"Paid for mending the bridle for bridleinge of scoulds, and two cords for the same, 1^s 2^d."

A curious instrument of punishment, probably used for a similar purpose as that just mentioned, may still be seen, hung

up with some armour, in the Worcester Guildhall. The following is from a sketch taken by me a few months ago. The head was inserted in this helmet; and the visor, which is here represented as hanging down, being connected with the toothed uprights, was drawn up or down by means of a key winding up the end of the rod which passes immediately across the top of the helmet, and which rod is furnished with cogs at the end, to fit into the teeth of the uprights. The visor was thus drawn up



tightly, so as to completely darken the eyes and cover the nose. The little square box, with hole, to which a screw is affixed at the side, was probably intended to receive the end of a pole fixed in a wall, from which the patient was thus made to stand out, though certainly not "in relief." These instruments, as well as cucking or cuckold-stools, were in use in nearly all towns. The present specimen is probably of the date of Henry VII's reign.

Men and women were whipped promiscuously in public till

the close of the last century, if not later. Male and female "rogues" were whipped at a charge of 4d. each; in 1680 there is a charge of 4d. for "whipping a wench;" in 1742, 1s. "for whipping John Williams and exposing Joyce Powell;" in 1747, "whipping Sarah Perrens, 6d.;" and "whipping a man and woman, 1s.;" in 1750, "whipping a man and woman, 2s.;" in 1759, "for whipping Eliz. Bradbury, 2s. 6d.," probably including the cart, which was usually charged 1s. 6d. separately. Happily the day is now gone by when these disgusting exhibitions were witnessed.

> "The lash on woman's shrinking flesh,
> Our soil yet moistened with the stains
> Drawn from her scourgings warm and fresh."

The scene of these brutalities was in the Corn Market, as in 1697 a charge of 8s. was made for erecting a new whipping-post there. One pair of stocks was at the Quay Head, another at the Cross, a third at Sidbury Gate, a fourth at Severn Bridge, and probably others in different parts of the city. The by-law book contains an entry, in the year 1656, to the following effect: "Whereas there hath been for some years last past a want of certain instruments applying to the execution of justice upon offenders, viz., the pillorie, whipping post, and gum-stoole," the chamberlain is instructed to procure them. Three years afterwards it is recorded that the gum-stool was set up at "Bitter's Slip." The pillory was at the Cross in 1760, though it appears that one formerly stood in the Corn Market, there having been a charge of £4. 1s. 9d. made in 1686 for setting up one there and colouring it. In 1733 a new gallows was erected in Little Pitchcroft.

THE PRISON.

The gaol and gaoler's house were comprised in the Guildhall, and for some time it was the rule to make a distinction in favour of "citizen" over "foreign" criminals, by placing the former in this gaol, and the latter in the prison of the Foregate:

"And that no citizen be put in comon prison, but in oon of the chambers of the hall beneth furth, without he be comyttd to prison for felony, mrdre, or for some heynows trespass, in the which case the baillies may take surety and put in baile."

THE SABBATH.

The regulations for the due observance of the Sabbath appear to have been more strict during the Commonwealth than in the reign of Elizabeth. About the first year of that queen's reign there occurs a curious chamber order, that shops were to open "only one *top window* on Sundays." This was a decided case of huckstership dividing its affection between God and Mammon. But from the years 1640 to 1660 a rigid scrutiny was established against all such offences, alehouse keepers being especially watched and warned. At this time occur the following orders:

"That no inhabitant shall suffer their children or servants to *sit idle* or play at games in divine service or sermon, on paine of 6s 8d; and that no boat or barge shall go up or down the river on that day on the like pain; and any person found playing at football, stooleball, cudgells,* or other unlawful games, on the Sabbath, to forfeit 3s 4d."

A LECTURER AT THE CATHEDRAL.

About this same period (or rather during a great part of the century) a custom obtained of having a city lecturer or preacher in Worcester, under the auspices of the corporation. In 1614 it was "agreed that the bailiff do further the business concerning the preacher or lecturer to be had for the cittie." Two

* This rough game is, or was very recently, practised in Dorsetshire and Somersetshire, which two counties have had their champions pitted against each other from time immemorial. A stage is erected in the market place, on which the combatants ascend. The former are stripped to their shirt and breeches, and have their arms padded. Each holds a short thick stick in his left hand to protect his head and face from blows, and in his right hand is a long stick with which he acts on the offensive. He who breaks the largest number of heads in the day receives a purse of sovereigns. Sometimes an eye was knocked out, or the combatants were otherwise disabled for life; and yet this exhibition was exceedingly popular with *all* classes.

years afterwards an order was made for his yearly maintenance; and in a subsequent order, it having been a question whether he should preach his weekly discourse in the cathedral or in some of the parish churches, the latter were selected; but the order was again countermanded, and he was instructed "to preach at the college every Sunday so long as it seems good to this house." The lecturer (a Mr. Kinnett) died, and one Mr. Harkell succeeded him. In 1627 the chamber petitioned the king for a prebend's place for the lecturer, who seems to have thriven but indifferently upon voluntary contribution and the crumbs of the corporation table. In 1642 the king recommends a lecturer at the cathedral, and persons were appointed to raise contributions for him in every parish; and subsequently the corporation also petitioned the king for a prebendal stall for him, as the amount they were enabled to raise from their own resources and from the parishes was not sufficient to satisfy him. I suppose that owing to the unsettled state of the times he did not obtain this desirable post, for in 1643 it appears that Dr. Warmstry refused to supply the place of lecturer, and in 1664 it was ordered that the £40 granted to the lecturer be discontinued, and that he must rely on voluntary contributions in each ward. In the following year, however, the mayor and aldermen are desired "to take care for the supply of the lecturer at the cathedral church," and Dr. Lawrance was accordingly requested to be lecturer, at £40 per annum, to be paid quarterly, with voluntary contributions besides. About ten years afterwards an entry occurs of "5l to T. Vickaredge for the minister's diet to maintain the Friday lecturer at St. Swythen's," and this is frequently repeated. I have in vain endeavoured to ascertain the original cause of these lecturers' engagement, and the circumstances which gave to the corporation a command over the services of the cathedral. It should be stated, however, that a serious dispute appears to

have existed for several years between that body and the dean and chapter, of which I find the following traces:

1640.—"Certain grievances were alleged (but not particularized) against the dean and chapter, and a conference with them was afterwards proposed, concerning the articles preferred by this city in Parliament against them, and to know unto which of these demands they will consent and which deny, so to have a speedy proceeding in the cause."

1641. John Child's expenses are paid for "appearing before Parliament about the dean and chapter." This dispute was continued for several years. It was more probably occasioned by some question of the boundaries of their respective properties than by any dispute about discipline.

PERSECUTION.

The corporation records afford proof of the persecution with which the Quakers of Worcester were followed in the time of the Commonwealth and of the second Charles. It seems that when they were forbidden to enter their meeting house, they assembled in Friar Street, before the gate of their house,* and preached in the open air. On the 28th of March, 1661, Mr. Townsend and Mr. Symonds released out of Worcester gaol 24 Quakers and 14 Anabaptists, upon recognizance to appear at the next assizes, and in the meantime to keep the peace and acknowledge Charles II. About the year 1665 we have the following entries:

"Paid two soldiers for watching the Quackers, 1^{s} 6^{d}."

and

"Paid James Hill for a bill against the Quakers, and other expenses by him laid out the last assizes, 8^{s} 6^{d}."

George Fox himself, in 1674, was confined in Worcester prison for refusing to take an oath, and William Penn having exerted

* Their first meeting house was in Cooken Street.

himself in his favour, he was removed to London in the Worcester coach (which is the first mention of a stage coach in this city). The journey was then performed in four days. It may now (1849) be accomplished in five hours.

I must not leave this branch of my subject without making mention of the sufferings undergone by Protestants in Worcester during the progress of the Reformation. Although I would not subscribe to the truth of all that was recorded by Fox in his *Ecclesiastical Historie, containing the Acts and Monuments of Martyrs*, yet the following will at least serve to show the manner and spirit of the times:

"A.D. 1546, and the last yere of King Henry VIII, John Davis, a childe of twelve yeares and under, who, dwelling in the House of M. Johnson, Apothecary, in the Towne of Worcester, his Uncle, using sometimes to reade the Testament* and other good English Bookes, was complained of by Alice Johnson, his mistress; which Alice being an obstinate person, consulted with one Thomas Parton, and one Alice, wife to Nicholas Brooke, organ maker, with certaine of the Canons, and M. Johnson, Chancellor to D. Heath, their Bishop. The means whereby he was entrapped were brought by the foresaid Alice Brooke, who procured Oliver her son, schoolfellow with the said John Davis, to feigne friendship with him, and under pretence to be instructed, to see his English Bookes, and especially to get something of his writing against the six Articles. Which being had was soone brought to the Canons of the Church and the Chancellor. Whereupon Thomas Parton, whether being sent, or of his own mind, came to apprehend him, and his Uncle was forced against his will to bind the poore boyes arms behind him, and so he was brought to the Officers of the Town, where he lay from the 14th of August till the last of September. Then was he commanded to the freeman's prison, where one Richard Howborough, coming to perswade him from burning, willed him to prove first with a candle; who then holding his finger, and the other a candle under it a good space, yet (as the Party himself to me assureth) felt no burning thereof, neither would the other that held the candle believe him a great while, till he had looked and saw no scorching of the candle at all appeared. Then was the childe

* This was previous to the establishment of a press at Worcester, for John Oswen first printed the New Testament at Worcester, in 1548.

removed from thence to an inner Prison called Peepehole, where the Low Bayliffe, called Robert Yould, laid upon him a paire of bolts, so that he could not lift up his small legs, but leaning on a Staffe, slipt them forwards on the ground, the coldness of which irons he feeleth yet in his ankles, and shall so long as he liveth: with these bolts his lying was upon the cold ground, having not one locke of straw nor cloth to cover him, save only two sheep skins; neither durst father or mother, or any of his friends, come at him. Besides this, and many great threats of the Papists, there was a madman put to him in the prison, with a knife about him, wherewith hee oft times in his frantike rage proffered to thrust him in.

"After this came to him one Jolyfe and R. Yewer, two Canons, which had his writings against the sixe Articles, and his Ballet called 'Come down for all your shaven Crowne;' to see whether he would stand to that he had written. Which done, with many great raging words, not long after sate Master Johnson the Chancellor, in the Guildhall, upon the poore lad. Where first were brought in his accusers, and sworne, then were also sworne twenty-foure men which went on his quest, and found him guilty, but he never came before the Chancellor. Upon this he was sent to the common Gaole among theeves and murtherers, there to tarry the coming of the Judges, and so to be had straight to execution. But the mighty mercy of the Lord, who helpeth the desolate and miserable when all other help is past, so provided for this silly condemned lad, that the purpose of his hardhearted enemies was disappointed. For before the Judges came, God took away Henry VIII out of this life. By reason whereof the force of the law was then staied, howbeit he was nevertheless arrainged, being holden up in a man's armes at the barre, before the Judges, who were Portman and Marven. Which when they perceived that they could not burne him, would have him presently whipped. But M. T. Bourne, Esquire, declared to the Judges how he had whipping enough. After that he had lien a weeke more in prison, he had him home to his house, his Wife anointed his legs herself with ointment, which then were stiff and nummed with irons, till at length when Master Bourne and his Wife saw they could not win him to the beleife of their Sacrament, they put him away lest he should infect their son Anthony, as they thought, with Heresie.

"Thus John Davis, of the age aforesaid, in what danger he was for the Gospell ye see, and how the Lord preserved him ye understand. He indured in prison from the 14 day of August till within 7 daies of Easter, who is yet alive, and a profitable Minister this day in the Church of England. Blessed be the Lord qui facit mirabilia solus."

POLICE.

The physical force at the disposal of the Worcester executive (including the night Charleys) seems at no period to have been very effective. About the year 1691 charges are made "for appeasing the tumult when the poor arose about carrying away the corn, and other things relating thereto." In this tumult houses were broken into, the trows in the river assaulted and robbed, and men were violently beaten in the streets. A special commission was sent down to try the rioters. In the year 1730 is the following curious order:

"Paid Jasper and other *porters* to endeavour to quell the mob the troublesome night, 5s 6d."

Had this reference to the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, which at that time caused great agitation in parliament and the country generally?

An ancient by-law with regard to constables sets forth that—

"By cause afortyme it hath byn used, at some seasons of wilfulness, the constable of the citie to be chosen of pure malice by other old constables, whereby many inconveniences have growen of the same, therefore it is ordeyned that, in time comyng, the said constables, in any ward, by the hie election and the lowe ellection, assembled togeder in the council chamber, the day of election shall be chosen, provided that the said constables shall be good, honest, sadde, and discrete persons of the saide citie, and not of symple condition."

In 1597 the night watch consisted of eight persons, who were to walk from nine till five o'clock, and the charges to be defrayed by subsidy men, innkeepers, victuallers, and commoners of best ability in the city.

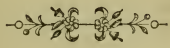
In 1668 the night defences of the city seem to have been entrusted to one bellman, who was appointed to walk about the streets from eleven o'clock till four from the first of October to March 1. And it was not till 1723 that each ward had a watch assigned to it, but one was made to suffice for St. Andrew's and

St. Clement's (each of which was then a ward of itself). Each watchman was then paid 12d. a night, to be paid by the inhabitants of the wards respectively.

About the year 1680 it was complained that "for twenty years past the constables of each ward have ordered a new club each year, for which the city is charged 14s, to the great damage of the inhabitants;" it was therefore ordered, that every constable should give up his club to his successor.

Such defective police arrangements could not have afforded to the ancient rulers of this city much confidence in the arm of the flesh, and hence their trust seems to have been lodged in another quarter, for in the first year of King Edward, among the list of city officers inscribed in the chamber order book are the names of the constables for the various wards, with a brace, and the following extract from the Vulgate—"*Si Deus nobiscum quis cont. nos?*" "If the Lord be for us who can be against us?" About the same time, too, I find the claims of education, as a moral agent, taking effect with the city rulers, for the "baillies" were instructed "to give a direct answer unto the scolemaster, to ratify his levynge here ageyne, or otherwise, as they thyncke best."

A regular police force was not established here till about fifteen years ago, when, under the statute of 4 George IV, a force of eighteen men were appointed in aid of the four mayor's officers and two constables from each of the then seven wards of the city. The old watchmen had been discharged.



Social Customs and Regulations.

"Time hath, my lord, a wallet at his back,
Wherein he puts alms for oblivion"—

SHAKSPEARE.

BELLS.

IT appears to have been a custom in this city, from time immemorial, to ring the day-bell and bow-bell. The day-bell was the fourth bell at St. Helen's, which was rung a quarter of an hour every morning at four o'clock, and the great bow-bell at half an hour after eight o'clock at night, for the like quarter of an hour at the least. The ringing of the day-bell ceased about the year 1750, for no assigned reason. The bow-bell was to be rung as well on holydays as working days. The by-law book sets forth

"That the bowbell accustomed in the citie be, at the 9 of the bell nyghtly throw the yere, on worken days, rongen yereley for grete ease to the said citie, and the parish clerk of Seynt Ellen ther to have for his fees and labour yerely, 4s."

A small yearly salary was regularly paid by the corporation for this service till the passing of the Municipal Act, and although the payment is now discontinued, yet still

"The curfew tolls the knell of parting day,"

and the clerk of St. Helen's receives some trifling donations from a few lovers of old customs who still linger among us, but the amount is so small that it is not improbable the curfew in

Worcester will, ere long, be numbered amongst the things that have been.* It is also the custom here, as at Oxford and other places, after ringing the eight o'clock bell, to inform the inhabitants of the day of the month by a corresponding number of tolls. A bell is also nightly rung at St. Martin's church, as I am informed, for a month or five weeks before Christmas only, but I cannot ascertain the origin of this practice. The vulgar account is, that it was intended to remind the inhabitants of the approach of that season of festivity, to lay in a store of the necessary good things for its due enjoyment: hence the bell is generally known in St. Martin's as "the plum pudding bell."

The popular notion of the curfew having originated in the odious tyranny of the Conqueror has been negatived by modern research. Du Cange says that the ringing of the *couvre-feu* prevailed generally in Europe during the middle ages as a precaution against fire; Voltaire also takes the same view of the custom. Henry I abolished his father's enactment, but the custom has survived to the present day, probably as one of general convenience. So late as about 150 years ago a fire-bell was rung every evening at Vienna, as a signal to the inhabitants to extinguish their fires, and to hang up lanterns in front of their houses. A few specimens of the *couvre-feu* are still in existence, some of them bearing marks of having covered the fire.

In the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII the Worcester chamber made an order,

> "That clarks are to ring no other than the passing bell for pore people, unless for an honest householder, and he a citizen;"

nor was the bell to be rung for "children, maydes, journeymen, apprentices, day labourers, or any other pore person." It was customary to ring this bell while the soul of a dying person was

* The salary of the bell-ringer at Leominster was recently raised from £4 to £5. 5s., in return for which he was to visit the church seven hundred times a year and to find his own candle!

passing from the body, which not only gave notice to Christians to pray for the welfare of the departing spirit, but in superstitious times was believed to have the effect of keeping at bay those demons who prowled around the bedside, anxious to take possession of the soul of the deceased. In the articles of visitation for the diocese of Worcester, 1662, is the following: "Doth the parish clerk or sexton take care to admonish the living, by tolling of a passing-bell of any that are dying, thereby to meditate of their own deaths, and to commend the other's weak condition to the mercy of God?"

BARGAINS AND WAGES.

Some notion of the mode of striking bargains in the early part of the last century may be formed from the following, dated 1724:

"Ordered, that in consideration of Mr. John Rustone removeing the ceisterne at the Cross (and releasing his right to the ground whereon it now stands) and covering the same ceisterne when removed, the s^d^ Mr. Ruston be admitted a ffreeman of this city, and that the chamb'lains (out of the corporacon stock) pay the s^d^ Mr. Ruston £10, and present his wife with a guinea, and in case Mr. Ruston shall have any son borne before he can compleat the s^d^ work, and take up his ffreedom, that then such son shall be intituled to his being admitted a ffreeman of this city at the age of one and twenty years."

Labourers wishing to be hired within the city were, by the ancient by-laws, instructed "that they with their tolys [tools] in their honds dailly stond at the Grassecrosse oon the worke dayes within the seid citie, and be there redy to all such persones that will huyre them to ther labour, in somm^r^ by 5 of the bel in the mornyng, and in the wynter be 6 of the bel, takyng for the dayes huyre according to the statute; and that the proclamation be made at iiij places assigned, three times a quarter, by the beleman of the citie," on certain penalties. This custom is not

perpetuated in Worcester, but it lingers in St. John's, in the shape of two annual "mops," which frequently prove a source of much drunkenness and profligacy. By the same laws it was rendered compulsory that every maid servant should be engaged for twelve months at least.

To give an idea of the state of wages, in the year 1672, an entry in the chamberlains' accounts mentions £1. 4s. as paid to six paviers for four days' work; but there are frequent instances, about the same time, of 2s. per day having been paid to these and such like artizans. Taking the comparative value of money into account, this is treble the present rate of wages.

MENDICANTS.

The following are some of the principal arrangements made from time to time for the suppression of mendicancy. It should be premised, that prior to the Reformation there were no poor rates, the charitable doles given at religious houses, and the "church ale" in every parish, proving sufficient for the purpose. There was in each parish a "church-house," to which belonged all necessary cooking apparatus. There the housekeepers assembled, and while dispensing their charity, made themselves merry with dancing, bowling, and shooting at butts.* Nevertheless the utmost vigilance was exhibited in Worcester in the eradication of pauperism and the suppression of lodging houses. In the by-law book it was a special instruction to the officers, that "search be made of all inmates, and all such as it may be lawful to send away, to do so, on pain of 6s 8d;" also "that any person (unless lame, blind, or impotent) taking lodgers, do lose the benefit of all distributions of money." It was ordered in the year 1577 that "a stranger, expert in setting children and idle persons to work, to be sent for and communed with," also a house of correction to be set up, and poor people

* See the chapter on Sports and Festivities.

set to work. In the seventh year of James I it was ordered by the chamber, that persons building poor-houses in the suburbs were to be responsible for the extra rates. In 1689 the following curious ordinance was made:

"Ordered, that the constables may have a writing given them to instruct them how the constables of St. Peter's shall convey all cripples that come at his end to go through this city, that he shall pass them to ye constable of St. John's, of Hollow, or of ye tithing of Whistones; and so likewise the constable of St. Nicholas and of St. Clement, to pass their cripples through the city to the constable or tithing-man of the constablewick of Battenhall, Whittington, Sidbury, and St. Peter's, and that the other wards which shall hereby be eased of the trouble and growing charge may contribute to the said three wards for the same."

ORPHANS.

The guardianship of orphans in the city was formerly vested either in the mayor or town clerk, who was denominated the "judge of orphans." The following was the oath administered to him (date 1723):

"You shall be good and true to our Sovereign Lord King George and to his heirs and successors, kings and queens of Great Britain. You shall, in such convenient time as you may, call before you all executors and executrixes of parties deceased, and survey and view all such testaments, if any goods and chattels be given therein to any infants or young children. You shall commit the keeping of them and their goods to their friends, taking sufficient sureties for the delivery of the same goods of the same orphans, according to their parents' and friends' last wills and testaments, and to do all and every thing that doth belong to y^r office, as near as you may to your knowledge and cunning—So help you God."

ATTORNEYS.

The profession of the law was from very early times an object of suspicion and jealousy to the rulers of this city. A local statute of the time of Henry VII made it compulsory on attorneys to be citizens, prescribed their numbers and style

of clothing, and limited their fees to 4d. per diem, with a penalty, on infringement, of permanent discharge from attorneyship. In the year 1581 the chamber made the following order:

"It was agreed uppon by co'mo' consent, that the atturnye and ev'ie of them shall hereafter more orderly demeane themselves in theire pleadinge wthin the barr for theire clyents w^{t}out any surpflous and indirecte speches to be uttered not co'crninge theire causes, and w^{t}out any int^{r}ppcon ether ye other whiles they are in pledinge, upon peine of ev'ry one doinge the contrarye, and beinge thereof by the bayliffe, aldermen, and chamberlains three several tymes in court openly admonished, to be at the next chamber followinge removed from his office."

Plays and Pageants.

"Whose end both at the first and now was and is—to hold, as it were, the mirror up to Nature, to show Virtue her own feature, Scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure"—

SHAKSPEARE.

THE origin of English plays, like that of many other of our ancient usages and customs, may be traced to the time when the Romans introduced to this island their own social habits and superstitions. Some of the early ecclesiastics of the church, with that facility with which they adapted a great part of the Pagan system to the rites and ceremonies of Christianity, substituted for the plays founded on the classic model a simple representation or pageant, which embraced one or more incidents taken from the Old or New Testament, the miracles of saints, &c., by way of making the vulgar, who could not read, acquainted with the doctrines of the church. These were performed by the clergy on raised stages erected in churches, or on scaffolds mounted on wheels to exhibit the pageant through the street on festival or saints' days, and were called mysteries and miracle plays. There was also at a later period another kind of pageants called moralities, which consisted chiefly of the impersonation of the vices and virtues, and these were acted by strolling players, minstrels, and jesters. The trading companies enacted pageants, each guild or body of craftsmen undertaking a portion of the performance, and also

the expense. Each craft had its patron saint, upon whose day they held a grand pageant and procession. St. Blaise was the patron of wool-combers, as being the reputed inventor of the art of combing wool, and his festival (the 3rd of February) was kept as a jubilee and a day of processioning. At the famous Coventry show fair, as late as 1824, the saint was personified in the procession, accompanied by a shepherd and shepherdess bearing a lamb. At Bradford there is still a procession of the wool trade every seventh year upon the 3rd of February. St. Clement is the patron saint of blacksmiths, by whom, singularly enough, the instrument of his martyrdom was supplied: he was thrown into the sea with an anchor fixed to his neck. St. Anthony was the tutelary genius of the tailoring craft; St. Andrew and St. Joseph, of carpenters; Saints Martin, Crispin, and Crispinian, of the shoe-makers, and so forth. These two last-named renowned saints, in imitation of the conduct of St. Paul, supported themselves by working at the trade of shoe-making by night, while they preached during the day. Shoe-makers throughout the Christian world, from a very early period, celebrated the day set apart for these saints with processions, in which Crispin, Crispinian, an Indian prince, and some other personages, whom tradition had associated with their history, were represented in splendid antique dresses. Sometimes a coronation was part of this ceremony, for there is a notion that he (Crispin) was a royal personage, and hence in some countries (Scotland, for instance), the shoe-makers assumed for their arms a leather knife, surmounted by a crown, and styled themselves "the royal craft."

There are accounts extant of mysteries exhibited at Chester six centuries ago.

> "This worthy knihte Arnway, then mayor of this citie,
> This order toke, as declare to you I shal,
> That by twenty-four occupations, arts, crafts, or mysteries,
> These pageants should be played after brefe rehearsall.

For every pageant a carriage to be provided withal
  In which sort we purpose this Whitsontyde
Our pageants in three parts to devide.
  Now you worshipful tanners, that of custom old,
The fall of Lucifer did set out,
  Some writers a warrante your matter, therefore be boulde
Lustelye to playe the same to all the rowtte.
  And yf any thereof stand in any doute,
Your author his author hath, your showe let be,
  Good speech, fyne players, with apparel comelie."

There are but few traces of these trade pageants in Worcester. Among the ordinances agreed upon at a "yelde merch^{t} holden yn the yelde hall," in the time of Henry VII, is the following:

"PAGEANTTS.—Also hit is ordeined a substantial rule, that 5 pageants amongst the crafts yerly be not to much when they should go to do worship to God and to the citie, and to be better and more certenly kept then they have byn byfor this tyme, upon peyne of every crafte founde in defaute of 40^{s} the oon half to be paid to the baill, and the other half to the com' tresur; and that the stewards of every crafte may make levy as for ther parte, in peyn of hym that is found in defawte 40^{d}, half to the baillies, and half to the comen tresor; and that the masters in oon pageant pay eqallye, and the journeymen pay as hit hath ben of olde tyme among them used, nor oon more than another: and that every pageant goo in ther due ordre in procession and in ther pleyng; and that the iii furst pageants pley in due ordre upon Corpus Christi day, and the other ii pageants pley in lyke manner upon the Sunday next following, upon peyn of that pageant that breaketh his deu corse for every tyme to be levyed of the stewards 40^{s} in manner and forme foreseid; and also that every of the 24 go in ordre the said Corpus Christi day, and on Trinity Sunday in procession, in ther best arraye, in peyn of evry man beying absent and seen in the citie the same day byfor the procession, and is not syke in body, forfett 20^{s} to the comyn tresur."

"CRAFTYS—WATCH.—Also, hit is ordeyned that all man^{r} crafts within the citie of Worcester that have pageants goyng to the lawde and worship of God, and for profit and encresse of the said citie; and also, all the crafts that ben contributory to the same, and to the lights of torches and tapurs among the s^{d} crafts usid, have and enjoy their good, faithfull, and true approved customes and usages in susteyning ther said pageants, lights, and other matters to the crafts of reson

belonging or appertaining; and on that hit is affirmed at this present yeld that no man person from hensfurth shall occupye ne set up eny occupation or crafte within the citie, ne libertie of the same as a master unles he be first sworen and admytted freeman of the said cytie, and be inhabitant wtyn the same or libertie thereof, and that fully performed and done, hitt shull be lawfull to eny such person to occupie or set up eny crafte or occupation without eny interruption or wt seyng of eny man, so that he pay furthewith unto the stewards or wardens of the said crafte that he desireth to occupy for his admission to the same 13s 4d, and 12 lb. wex, besides all other paymts which shall yerely growe to his charge by reason of pageants, lights, and nett'yes byfor rehersed, provided allway that any appr within this citie or libertie of the same which hath truly served his apprentisewod by the whole term of 7 yeres, and is swoern and admytted freeman as ys byfor shew'd, shall ymmidately pay unto the stewards or wardens of the crafte wch he was appr unto but 6s 8d and 6 lb. of wex, besides all other paymts afore rehersed; and yf eny such apprent' will be free to eny other crafte then he was apprentice unto, then he shall content and pay in hand to the stewards or wardens of the same 13s 4d and 2 lb. wex, and all other yerely charges and payments byfor specified, provided also that the masters of crafts of every pageant, and all the masters which byn contributory to the same shull from hensfurth equally pay to their pageants, lights, and other noa'ces byfor rehersed, no master more than another, and all journeymen shall in like manner pay to the same as hit hath byn byfor this tyme used and accustomed, and what person that denieth this, thereof notice to be made unto the baillies, aldermen, and chamberlayns of the said city, for the time being; they to ordre and reform hit as the matter of reson shall require; and on that hit is ordeined that every crafte within this citie desiring to be priviledged which byfor the yeld hath not byn admitted ne affermyd as a crafte within the same, shall pay at this yeld for his liberty and admission 6s 8d to the comon tresur, and as many as comyth aft' this yelde before eny other yelds be granted, desiryng ye same shall pay 13s 4d in forme byfor rehers'd: also hit is ordeyned that no inhabitants within this citie ne libertie of the same from hensfurth syll any ware or merchandise at eny feyre-time wtyn the cemytory or churchyard of the cathedral church of our Lady of Wurcester, in peyn of disfranchising; hit ys on that affirmed at this present yeld that every crafte having the name of a pageant shall fynd oon cresset* yerly bren-

* The cresset was a large lanthorn fixed at the end of a long pole, and carried upon a man's shoulder.

nyng to born before the baillies of the seid citie in the vigil of the . . . . . of seynt John Baptist, at the comon watche of the said citie, and the wardens or stewards of the said crafte, and all the hool crafte in their due ordre and corse, after ther going in ther pageants on Corpus Christi day, shall wayte upon the said baillies yn the said vigill at the s^{d} wache, in ther best arraye homeyfid, upon peyn of every man so faillyng, unless then he have a sufficient deputy, 40^{d}, half to the baillies and half to the comon tresur, and of the hed stewards of every pageant yf they see not the due course and ordre kept as ys byfor rehersed, C^{s}; whereof 20^{s} shall be paid to the baillies, and 4^{l} to the common treasur."

In explanation of the allusion to watching, Stow informs us that it was customary in great cities to set the Midsummer watch on the eve of St. John the Baptist, and that it was performed with great pageantry, a large armed band marching through the streets, with the mayor on horseback, preceded by the waits, or city minstrels, with pageants, morris dancers, and cresset-lights. In some places, figures of giants and dragons were also carried with them. In the Worcester chamber order book for 1588 is an item—

"For amending of calyvers* and for goune powder on Midsomer Even."

The origin of the Midsummer bonfires and watchings has been traced by some to Druidical times.

It appears that the clerical exhibitors of pageants, and the lay, or itinerant, performers, frequently trenched on each other's province, and thus no little jealousy was created. We have an instance of this in the Worcester chamber's book of ordinances:

"And ther be from hensfurth no revells of pleys of eny persons strangers, for gederring of eney money within the citie in peyn of the baill. yf they or eney of them suffer hit to be done, for eny time 6^{s} 8^{d} to the common tresur: and that no inhab^{t} within the citie geder money to no playes, church ales, ne to no person dwelling out of the citie or libertie of the same upon peyn of 6^{s} 8^{d} for every tyme tacken in defawte, half to the baill. and half to the comons, provided that

* A caliver was a kind of hand-gun or arquebus.

eny man may revell, play, and disgusse for the advantage of eny church, or of eny other inhabitant within the citie or libertie of the same as often as nede shal require."

The religious mysteries were abolished at the Reformation, but the secular plays, or moralities, survived for some time longer, and gradually formed the basis of the modern drama.* The first English tragedy (in the present sense of the word) was produced in 1561, and the first comedy in 1575, which were acted before Queen Elizabeth. These models were followed by a variety of similar productions. Theatres sprang up in different parts of the metropolis, the various companies being duly licensed by the Crown, and the performances usually taking place on Sundays, while other companies traversed the country under the authority of a royal patent and the commission of the master of the revels, occasionally also assuming the name of some peer or baron, for the sake of introduction or protection. We find the players at Worcester in the year 1572, though it appears probable that was not the first occasion of their visit.

"Item—allowed to Mr. Low Baylie for the *last* players, $3^s\ 4^d$."

1573.—"Ordered, that money shall be allowed to the players the last somer by the auditor at the next audyte, by their discretion."

1587.—"Item—geven to the quene's players, 10^s."

1596.—"For money p^d to the queen's players and other noblemen's players."

Between this period and the year 1622 occurs the following by-law, from which it appears, that not only had the corporation been in the habit of patronizing the drama, by allowing regular

* A house called "The Pageant House," situate near the Corn Market, was, in 1682 and in the following century, held under the corporation by the warden of the clothiers' company, but at the present time I cannot trace any house bearing that name. The wardens of the mercers, in the time of King James I, paid for their hall a rent of 7d. per annum to the corporation.

sums, or salaries, to the actors, but that, up to that period, the plays had been performed regularly in the Town-hall:

"Item—yt is ordered that noe playes bee had or made in the upper end of the Town-hall of this city, nor council chamber used by any players whatsoever, and that noe playes be had or made in yeald by nyght time, and yf anie players be admytted to play in the yeald hall, to be admytted to play in the lower end onlie, upon paine of 40^{s} to be p^{d} by Mr. Mayor to the use of the citie if any shal be admitted or suffered to the contrary."

1624.—"For money given to the king's players, 20^{s}, and in a succeeding month of the same year, 10^{s}."

1625.—"Item—the chamberlains are allowed the money which the last year, by Mr. Maior's appointment, they did give to players, videlct. to the king's revelers, 15^{s}."

1626.—"Payed and geven to the Lord Dudley's players, 10^{s}."

In this year it was also ordered

"That noe plaies shall be acted by nyght in the Trinity-hall of the city aforeseid, upon pain of 40^{s} to be p^{d} to the master and wardens of the company of weavers and walkers, to the use of the corporation."

But in the following year comes out this interesting statement:

"Forasmuch as we finde the glass windows in the council chamber to be much broken, and the city thereby suffereth much damage, ordered that no plaies nor players be suffered to have any use thereof, nor any tiplinge or drinkinge be suffered there, by which means these inconveniences happen, but that the chamberlains forthwith put the same in repair, and the keys thereof to be kept for the city's use, on pain of 10^{s} for every time of offending."

1631.—"Given to the king's players, by Mr. Mayor's direccon, to prevent their playinge in this city, for fear of infeccon, 13^{s} 4^{d}."

1632.—"Given to the king's majesty's players, beinge two companies, to prevent their playenge in this city, by the appointment of the late Mr. Mayor and aldermen, 20^{s}."

1634.—"Item—the chamberlains are allowed 10^{s} that was given to a company of players to prevent their playing in the city, as by a note under the late Mr. Mayor's hand appeareth."

As the "fear of infection" could not have been urged against the admission of the players for so long a period as three or four years, no plague or epidemic having raged for the whole of

that time, it is probable that the rejection of them at Worcester was attributable to the growing spirit of Puritanism. In some towns (Banbury, to wit) where the popular movement was stronger than at Worcester against public games, festivities, and every relic of an older system, the return of which was an object of much dread and jealousy, the poor strolling players were now become obnoxious to much persecution. Prynne, the unfortunate Puritan barrister, about this time published his *Histrio Mastix, or the Player's Scourge*, in which he coolly recommends the following correction for players:

"They may be sent to the house of correction, imprisoned, set in stockes, and whipped, &c.; and if they still persist in playing after these corrections, they may be burned with an hot burning iron of the bredth of an English shilling, with a great Roman R in the left shoulder, which letter shall there remaine as a perpetuall marke of a rogue, &c., as the several statutes more largely shew; and if this will not reforme them they may be banished, and after that, if they returne againe and persist incorrigible, *be executed as felons*."

Not only to act plays, but to witness them, was made a penal offence in the year 1648; and although with the restoration of the monarchy the sock and buskin were again received into favour, I find no further accounts of the drama at Worcester until the last century, when, as Green informs us, the inhabitants had no better place for theatrical exhibitions than a timber building in the King's Head inn yard, opposite the Town-hall. The first notice of this place having been so used is in the *Worcester Postman*, January 4, 1717, wherein is advertised the play of "Œdipus, king of Thebes, with several diverting entertainments, particularly a pleasant scene between a drunken man and his wife." About the year 1750 it seems that the Trinity-hall was used for a pantomime, &c. Afterwards, for some years, short interludes and plays were performed at the King's Head, between the acts of concerts. Of this theatre, Mr. Ward, the grandfather, and Mr. Kemble, the father, of

the celebrated Mrs. Siddons, were managers, and here that admired actress first drew forth the public applause. Mr. Whiteley's management in 1779 was so successful that he relinquished the theatre at the King's Head, and the present theatre (in Angel Street) was erected in 1780 by means of shares. Mr. Henry Bennett, for many years the lessee and manager, still conducts the establishment in that respectable and liberal manner for which he has been uniformly distinguished; and since this gentleman's management, the following celebrated artists have appeared upon the boards of his theatre:

Miss Foote,	Miss Paton,
Miss Ellen Tree,	Madame Vestris,
Miss Love,	Madame Malibran.
Mr. Braham,	Mr. Elliston,
Mr. Liston,	Mr. Mathews,
Mr. Betty,	Mr. Yates,
Mr. Kean,	Mr. Sheridan Knowles,
Mr. Macready,	Mr. Buckstone, &c.

Sports and Festivities.

"Holydays were set apart to be the landmarks to distinguish times"—
HOOKER.

KING AND QUEEN OF MAY.

WITH the subject of Pageants and Plays may also be appropriately associated that of other public sports and festivities. In Bohn's excellent edition of *Brand's Antiquities* a description is given of the popular custom of choosing a May queen to preside over the sports of that delightful season. The antiquity of this custom is proved by a command which was given at a synod at Worcester in the year 1240—"Ne intersint ludis inhonestis nec sustineant *ludos fieri de rege et regina*, nec arietes levari, nec palestras publicas." Douce thinks "the introduction of Robin Hood into the celebration of May probably suggested the addition of a king or lord of May." The prevalence of this custom at a much later period is proved by Bishop Latimer (who held the see of Worcester), for in his sermon before King Edward, he says—"I came once myself to a place, riding a journey homeward from London, and sent word overnight into the town that I would preach there in the morning, because it was a holyday, and I took my horse and my company and went thither (I thought I should have found a great company in the church); when I came there the church

door was fast locked. I tarried there half an hour and more; at last the key was found, and one of the parish comes to me and says: 'This is a busy day with us; we cannot hear you; this is Robin Hoode's daye; the parish is gone abroad to gather for Robin Hoode.' I thought my rochet should have been regarded, though I were not; but it would not serve, but was fayne to give place to Robin Hoode's men."

HOK-DAYS.

The reader is also referred to a MS. in the Bodleian, 692, being an order from the Bishop of Worcester, dated April, 1450, to the Almoner of Worcester cathedral and others, "ut subditi utriusque a ligationibus et ludis inhonestis in diebus communiter vocatis *hok-days* cessent sub pœna excommunicationis." This was an order for the suppression of a festivity of great merriment, called Hock-tide, and which it is believed was originally instituted to commemorate a great massacre of the Danes, or some other advantage obtained over them by our ancestors the Saxons. There were also the Hock-cart and the Hockey-cake connected with the festivity of Harvest Home; and in Sir W. Scott's novel, *Kenilworth*, will be found an allusion to the pageant of Hock-tide, as performed before Queen Elizabeth on her visit to that place.

MOUNTEBANKS.

The chamberlains' accounts for the year 1631 contain the following—

"Item—they yeald account of money by them received of the mountebanks to the use of the poor, 58^{s} 9^{d}."

These mountebanks were probably riders or posturers, and the sum was the price of the permission accorded them to perform their tricks in the city.

JACK-O'BOTH-SIDES.

In the chamberlains' accounts, about the year 1653, is the following curious entry :

"They (the chamberlains) pray to be allowed that was paid for making clothes for Jack on Both Sides, viz.:

Paid for cloth	01[l] 08[s] 06[d]
Paid for linings	00 02 03
Ffor buttons, and hucks and eyes . . .	00 01 00
Ffor making the clothes	00 03 00"

This "Jack-on-Both-Sides," I think, must have been an effigy or figure, dressed up for some one of the many occasions for public processioning which obtained in former times. The only allusion I can find with regard to it is in a tract by Taylor, the water poet, entitled "Jack-a-Lent, his beginning and entertainment, with the mad prankes of his gentleman-usher, Shrove Tuesday, that goes before him, and his footman Hunger attending." It is as follows :

> "Of Jack-an-Apes I list not to endite;
> Nor of Jack Daw my goose's quill shall write:
> Of Jack of Newbery I will not repeate;
> Nor Jack of Both Sides, nor of Skipjacke neat;
> But of the Jack of Jackes, great Jack-a-Lent:
> To write his worthy acts is my intent."

The singularity of the item consists in the fact of its having been made at a period when all games, plays, and pageants, were prohibited.

In the year 1754 the corporation still cultivated a taste for public exhibitions, as we find from the following :

"To Mr. Pinchbeck, the showman, by order of the mayor and justices, 1[l] 1[s]."

BUTTS AND BOWLING.

Shooting at the butts with bows and arrows is of ancient origin, and continued down to the time of Charles II, when

archery was superseded by musketry. In the year 1550 a pair of butts was erected "in the common ground beyond the Severn and another at Hylton Cross." The place still called The Butts also derived its name from this source. Bowls, or nine-pins, superseded the recreation of shooting at the butts, for in the year 1661 a stipulation was made with Mr. Solley, to whom some land in The Butts was leased, that he should make and keep in repair a bowling alley there for the recreation of the citizens. Bowling was at first in great favour with the gentry; and in the parliament survey, taken about 1648, is a description of the bishop's palace, as having a bowling alley attached to it.

THE WAITS.

"Where should this music be? i' the air, or the earth?
It sounds no more."——
—— "But 'tis gone—
No, it begins again."

Among the principal performers in all public merriment were the waits. The first mention made of them at Worcester is in the year 1585, when the bayliffe and aldermen were empowered "to call before them Thomas Wheler, musycian, and make agreement with him for playinge the waytes of this cyttie yearly, from the feast of St. Michael until the feast day of the purification of the blessed Virgin Marye, for such yearly salary as may be thought convenient." Entries then occasionally appear of "money geven to waite players," and in the 41st of Elizabeth it was—

"Ordered that the corvisors, [choristers?], in regard of the Bishop's request, be allowed [admitted] the waights or musicians of this city, and at the audit to have such benevolence or gift as they shall deserve, and to take the benevolence of every citizen of this city as hath been accustomed."

But in the year 1642, a period when the least participation in ancient pastimes, lively music, or other recreation, was con-

sidered as an "abomination to the Lord," the "company of waits," as might be expected, shared in the disgrace which also had befallen the poor players.* The Worcester corporation ordered—

"That John Brown and his company of musycians called waites be suppressed from playing at their instruments about the cytie in the morning, and that they may not expect any recompense for their paynes; and that the chamberlains are desired to give notice unto them of this order."

The same reactionary tide which brought back the monarchy and the old pastimes of the people, under the sanction of a most licentious king, also restored the waits, who became, as they had been before, the servants of the corporation, and in return for a regular salary, or occasional payments, were expected to play on all public festivities, as also at the merry meetings of the corporation. The following entries will be interesting:

1688.—"Paid Robert Lucas for the waytes playing on St. George's day, 5s."

1696.—"Paid the city waytes for playing before the mayor and aldermen when the streamers were carried about, April 16, being the thanksgiving day for the discovery of the plot, 5s."*

"To the waytes for playing at the coming of the news of the conclusion of the peace with France, 5s."

1701.—"Paid the waytes for playing to the gent. at the Old Globe, 1s."

About the year 1702 it was ordered—

That the waites of the city have 7l 10s yearly wages till ordered to the contrary, to be equally divided among the nine." [This was afterwards increased to £10.]

* Milton, in his *Arcopagitica*, published in 1644, alludes to the waits in the following sentence:—"The villages also must have their visitors to inquire what lectures the bagpipe and the rebec reads, even to the ballatry and the gamut of every *municipal fiddler*; for these are the countryman's arcadias and his Monte Mayors."

† Charnock's plot to assassinate William III.

1714.—"Ordered that the waites have new clokes and hatts provided for them by the present chamberlains."

"Paid Thomas Porting for playing to the mayor, aldermen, and common council, at the Bush, March 8, by the mayor's orders, 10s."

"Paid for silver lace, &c., for the waites' hatts and clokes, 3l 1s 4d."

1719.—An order was made "to provide new hats and clokes for the three city waites, who are to give security to the city for their leaving the same when they quitt that service, and the security to be approved of by the chamberlains."

1725.—"Paid towards the funeral of Rd Armiger, one of the late waits, 1l 5s."

1734.—"Paid Johns, the waits, for mending his hooboy, by Mr Town Clerk's order, 7s 6d."

1743.—"Paid 5s to the waits for attending the leet."

1745.—"Paid Charles Clark and Jones's boy for playing at the hall by the mayor's orders, 10s."

We have next the elevation of "Jones's boy" to the rank enjoyed by his father:

1750.—"Ordered, that Thomas, son of Wm Jones, be admitted one of the waits, in the room and place of his father, deceased."

1778.—"Paid the four waits in lue of dinners, May 29, 8s."

1788.—"Ordered, that John Meredith be appointed one of the waits, in the room of Wm Crump, hereby removed in consideration of the said Meredith paying 2s weekly to Crump."

About this time the ancient "company of waits" began to be superseded by another order of minstrels, and mention is likewise made of a fraternity which in our own times has largely increased in numbers and influence.

1792.—"Paid to the musicians by order of the mayor, for attending the Odd Fellows to the Town Hall, to sign the address to his Majesty on his proclamation to suppress all seditious and inflammatory writings, 1l 7s:" [this charge including the waits.]

1795.—"For the attendance of drums and fifes on the mayor and corporation to the college, with the yeomanry cavalry, 13s 6d."

That the waits were superseded about this time by the "drums

and fifes" may be shown from the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1790, in which is recorded a singular custom then observed at Kidderminster, where, at the election of a bailiff, the inhabitants assembled in the streets to throw cabbage-stalks at each other; and it is related that the bailiff and corporation were "preceded by drums and fifes, for they have no waits."

Elections.

"At last the election hastened on its way,
For here was come the nomination day.
The public-houses opening for the Blues,
Their floods of moral influence diffuse:
The Pig and Whistle, Gridiron, Tiger, Lamb,
Fox, Mitre, Bushel, Hop Pole, Dog, and Ram,
And each of seven its blameless nectar sheds,
To nerve the spirits of the valiant Reds:
The Cat and Snuffers, Checquers, Boar and Tun,
Three Kings, Black Boy, and thirst-exciting Sun.
The Hustings in the Market-place were set,
The Mayor looked big, the bands were made to sweat;
Opposing standards filled the sky with beams
Of various light, and ribbons flowed in streams"—

THE ELECTION *(a poem)*, b. iv.

WORCESTER sent members to parliament from the beginning. They were called "citizens," as it was not formerly the general custom to select our representatives from among strangers. The bailiff or mayor of the city is sometimes mentioned as the parliament man. It was not till the sixth of Edward III that the parliament assumed its present form, and sat in distinct houses as Lords and Commons. The following extract from the old book of ordinances will show the manner of conducting elections at Worcester:

"Also, that citesens appoynted for to come to the parlyament be chosen openly in the Yeldhall of such as byn dwelling within the franchises, and by the most voyce, according to the lawe and to the

statutes in such case ordeined, and not pr'veley; and he that returneth them in eny otherwise lose to the common tresur Cs; and that from hensfurth the citesens that shall be chosen for the parliament be of good name and fame, and not wtelawed nor accombred in acco'ns [accounts] as nye as men may know it for worship of the seid citie, and that the said persons so chosen for the parliat *be at hit from the beginning to the end of the same*, and that they be served of their wages of old tyme accustomed after ther comynge home within a quarter of a yere next following, and he that refuse to pay aft he is assessed to the seid expense, to lose ov his sum charged to the comon tresur 20d, and the constabull that doth not his devor for love of the same, to lose to the seid comon tresur, 6s 8d."

The system of paying wages to the members—whatever may now be urged against it—was probably conducive to the object contemplated by the constituency of Worcester, namely, the keeping them (the members) "*at hit* from the beginning to the end of the same" (session), for a servant with a salary is far more likely to stick to his duties than he is who receives nothing and finds himself. The representative who pocketed his half-crown per diem could not, with any feeling of probity or independence, ask Mr. Speaker's leave to pair off for the purpose of visiting his hounds and his shooting box. He could not conscientiously bring in his bill for work and labour not done and performed. It may, however, be true, that neither representative nor electors were likely to possess exceedingly refined notions of these delicate questions when (as I have elsewhere shown) their parting vows and pledges were tendered in taverns, over pots of ale, and amid the exhalations of tobacco, usually paid for out of the purse of that good-natured creature the public. In the reign of Elizabeth the fixed wages were 4s. a day to the member while in parliament and while going to or coming therefrom, with 12d. a day for a man or servant. In the year 1622 the following chamber order was made:

"And it is further granted and agreed that the wages of the citizens of the parliament, Robert Barkeley and Mr. Coucher performinge

that service, which service of theirs continued the nomber of one hundereth threeschore and seventin dayes, besides other fees layed out by them, allowinge the said cittizens, for their wages, the somme of ii^{s} vi^{d} the daye duringe the tyme of their service, which cometh unto the somme of xlvi^{l} v^{s}; which said sum is to be levied and collected as anciently hit hath bin, that is to saye, halfe by the chamber, and halfe by the commons of this cittie."

In ancient times some of the boroughs, from their poverty, were unable to bear the expense attending the luxury of a representative, and accordingly declined the privilege. The city of Worcester having been much crippled during the Civil Wars, was probably in a similar position, for I find that in the reign of James II, Messrs. Bromley and Nanfan declared to the electors that they did not demand or expect wages for their services in parliament. Bribery and winebibbing were not unknown at Worcester three centuries ago, several chamber orders having been from time to time issued to prevent more than a stipulated quantity of wine being given to each voter; and the following item, bearing date 1754, wears the semblance of the modern practice of "whipping-in."

"Paid to the mayor for taking the freeholders to Hereford election, £4. 2s. 10d."

These were no doubt Worcester freeholders who likewise possessed a vote for the city or county of Hereford; and the mayor was selected as the fittest custodian of their persons, votes, and consciences, while taking part in our neighbours' contests. The following curious extract from the council orders (with which I shall close this chapter) will afford a graphic and picturesque illustration of the mode of conducting elections in this city in the sixteenth century, and will likewise serve to show that nomination and election were nearly the same thing in the tactics of our ancient bodies corporate. It is entitled,

"AN ELECTION SCENE AT WORCESTER IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY, 1553.

"At this present chamber it was declared by the bayliffs unto the whole council of the said city, both to the 24 and 48, that they had of late received a precept from Henry Dingley, Esq., high shreve of the county of Worcester, for the election of citizens within the said city, as it hath been accustomed, for the Queen's Majesty's Parliament, to be holden at Oxford, the second day of April next ensuing, as on the same precept ready to be shewed most plainly it appeareth, whereupon the same baylies caused the same chamber to be holden, and called to the same the said council, and further caused the bellman of the said city to give warning to the rest of the commons of the said city, as many as would come to come, and give their voices thereunto quietly. And hereupon the said baylies and the whole council together went up to the council chamber, and then and there, among other communications then had, declaring therein the Queen's pleasure, proceeded to the election for their parts, according to their ancient custom, in such sort as heretofore used in time out of mind, and according to the tenure, form, and effect of the Queen's Majesty's precept unto the said baylies directed; and then and there for the most part were agreed, and did elect, nominate, and choose one John Aynesworth and Thomas Hyll, gents., citizens for the said parliament, being known to our wisdom able persons to supply the same; and after our quiet agreement herein, and our purpose at that present finally dissolved, we departed hence quietly down into thelde* hall of the said city, where were present against our coming down divers of the commons of the said city, which prepared themselves thereunto for the same purpose; whereupon we the said baylies and other officers there went to the bench

* A junction of two words, of which the first word was "the," was usual about that time.

and caused our brethren and all other of the council to draw thereunto, and to stand together, and after they were all quietly settled, caused the town clerk to stand up before them upon the chequer, and there to make a proposition to the rest of the commons the cause of their assembly at that present, and also to declare unto them be what authority they so did, and the tenure, purport, and effect thereof, and what was the Queen's pleasure therein to be done; as also caused him to declare unto the rest of the said commons, and make them privy, that we had convened of two able persons if the commons thought fit, which we and the whole council finally had agreed upon above in the council chamber, whereunto divers of the commons, whose names are here subscribed, were very well contented with our doing, and stood yarnestly with us in our election and proceeding therein; and the residue of the said commons being there present cried with a loud voice—'Collynge! Collynge! Collynge!' and thereupon John Rowland, high bayliff of Worcester, stood up upon the chequer and said—'Masters, ye thing ye have done this day the Queen's grace good source,*' and said to them further, 'we will try the polles with you ever ye have it.' And therewith one Philip Nichols, one of the commons, being reputed and esteemed a busy man, swore 'be God's blode, be God's side, we will have Collynge;' and then and there declared his further mind the cause he and other w^d have Collynge; whereinto they were answered by divers reasonable and gentyll persuasions. And finally the said baylies went down unto the nether end of the hall, and caused as many as were of Collynge's election and wylled them to come down into the nether end of the hall; and the rest that were on the other side and agreeable unto the former election, done by the whole counsell and the commons of the said city, to stand together up to the bar in the upper part of the hall, which so did accordingly, and then

* Query, solace, or service?

the said baylies by assent did nominate and chuse one John Englyce, being Collynge's friend, to void and tell the polles on both sides, which so did accordingly, to the intent to put all matters out of the question, that the trouth might be known who of right ought to have it, that the commons might be quieted and pleased, and the right to take place; whereupon the said John Englice told first Collyng's friends, which were in number between 44 and 48, or thereabout, and after took the number of the rest which was on the other side, which were 120 persons and above in number. The said John Englice said to Messrs. Baylies—'If the 24 and 48, being of the council of the city, may give their voices as well as the commons then ye have the more part a great many; and if not, Collynge (a shoe-maker) hath the more part of the commons as I think.' Whereinto the said baylie after answered the said John Englice, and said—'It hath been always seen and known that the council of the city hath given their voices thereunto as well as the commons, and why not as well as the justices of the shire, and the whole bench there doth give their voices with the freeholders in like case.' So that then the said Englyce was therewith persuaded. And when the commons were separated and divided in two parts, and the commons on Collyng's side perceived, apparently by the estimation of their eyes and upon Englyce's report withall, that the other side were of the more number, and could not prevail, departed out of the hall, and so did the rest; and thereupon the baylies, with divers other of their brethren, came out of the hall and sat down in their office near the tollshop; and so came unto them, after the election was finished and done, the said Collynge, shoe-maker, and John Englyce, again, unto the said baylies there sitting, and began in communication to rip up new matters concerning their election, in the presence of divers of the commons being there present, minding thereby to have sown rather sedition among the people

than otherwise, and by their communication to put into their ears that we, the said baylie and others, had not done our duties truly herein. Accordingly, by reason whereof the commons being abroad in the street on both sides, what displeasure might thereby ensued we were uncertain, or what parts might herein be taken by reason thereof; and for the qualifying hereof we committed the said Collynge, shoe-maker, and Englyce, to ward, as lawful it was for us to do, and thereupon gently willed to commons quietly to depart in God's peace and the Queen's, without further business; which whereat those persons consented so to do; and after their departure, we, the said baylies, with divers others of our brethren, went forth within to our counsel parlour, and there communed of the matter, and the misdemeanor of the said parties which we had committed to ward; and so, finally, we thought good to call them before us, and with gentleness to persuade with them, and to declare their follies to them, and upon their gentyll submission to take some reasonable order with them upon their amercement, as we thought good therein, and to extend the extremity of their deserts; and thereupon we called the said parties severally before us, and with diligence laid their loud talk and causes of their deserving whereby we had just cause to punish them, declaring unto them what busy persons they were, and gave them gentyll instructions, and bid them hereafter beware of such like; and, finally, upon their good behaving after, we enlarged them of their impris^{t}, and wylled them to depart quietly home; and so they and we all departed homeward to dinner. And in the street, as the High Baylie was going home, there came unto him again the said Collynges, and said, 'Sir, I think ye have punished me wrongfully, and ye have lost to me 10^{l}, and if ye will give me 5^{l} I will forgive you the rest for my wrongfull impris^{t}.' And thereupon Mr. Baylie answered again and said, 'I have lost no such sum, and if I have get it as the law will.' And so the said

Collynges went into Philip Nicholas's house, and what communication was between them there Mr. Baylie were uncertain, but the said Philip and one Raylff Wigfall, two or three hours after dinner was done, and the election quietly done, the said Philip went to Englyce, and there bought paper, and there had pen and ink, and Englyce's boy to write, and so the said Philip and s^d^ Raylff went together from house to house, without commission or authority, and took the names of divers citizens, as well those that were not at the election as they that were there, and w^d^ have persuaded them to stand with him, and give their voices with Collyng's, and w^d^ have had divers of them put their hands to his book to agether'd together the people to a new election, to the derogation, and disquieting, and disturbance of the whole city, and to the breach of our election; and if the s^d^ people had come together again as his purpose was, what inconvenience might ensued and have growen thereby we were uncertain, and for our parties we were able to say, that that day was two or three frays within the city, and that day had like to have been manslaughter. And we, the s^d^ Baylies, perceiving the same, and the city and commons far out of order, did send for the s^d^ Philip Nicholas and for Collynges again, he being 'Capten,' as it was alleged, and committed them to ward, as lawful it was for us to do, and after sent for Raylff Wigfall, and communed with him of his proceeding herein, which denied to us the whole matter, and so gave him instructions, and so licensed him for that time to depart; since which time we have heard more of his behaviour in this behalf, as shall be reported. And after all this came Edward Ekylston, and he took part with Philip Nicholas and other, and reasoned strongly in his quarrel, and stiffly took his part; whereupon we committed him to ward, as lawful it was for us to do. And the same day, after the election was done, Richard Penryce, being Collyng's friend, met against Weaver's void house, which kept a vittalling house, and then

and there met with Edward Southan, which was on our side for his voice, and so fell to reasoning with him of the election; and in multiplying of words they two fell by the ears, so had like one to slay another, whereupon we sent for Penryce, and committed him to ward, upon truth heard, as lawful it was for us to do. And to the same election came one Robert Collynges, a busy young man, and no freeman, perceiving the variance thereof, having little respect or regard for the quietness of the people, cried 'Collynges! Collynges!' and hurled up his cap and made a great stir there, having nothing to do with the election; and so we took him and committed him to ward, as lawful it was for us to do, and then and there kept all these persons in such keeping until the Queen's Majesty's Counsel in the Marches of Wales was by our high baylie and others instructed of divers of these persons and of their misdemeanors committed and done in this behalf; and further, until such time they at their own suit were delivered by virtue of the Queen's Majesty's letters unto Mr. Baylie directed, and several bonds of obligations, with conditions for their appearance before the counsel the 22nd day of March, in due form, to the Queen's use, in £41; to all which matters herein contained to be true, and everything therein contained to the circumstance of the same, all the 24 and 48 and other commons whose names are here subscribed will justify to the same to be true wheresoever they be called. [Here follow the names.]

Civil Wars.

"The gallant cavaliers, who fought in vain
For those who knew not to resign or reign"—BYRON.

"(For majesty's) a massy wheel,
Fixed on the summit of the highest mount,
To whose huge spokes ten thousand lesser things
Are mortis'd and adjoin'd, which, when it falls,
Each small annexment, petty consequence,
Attends the boist'rous ruin"—SHAKSPEARE.

OUR loyal city, it is well known *(semper fidelis)*, took an active part in the Civil Wars of Charles I and II. The following memoranda, referring to that period, are selected in order of time from the chamberlains' accounts, the chamber orders, &c.

In September, 1642, the city was fortified by the Royalists; a rate producing £180 per month having been levied for the cost of fortifications and soldiers. Sir John Biron (the ancestor of the poet), Lord Coventry, and Sir W. Russell, commanded the Royalists, and were afterwards joined by Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice. Lord Say, Colonel Sandys, and others, headed the troops of the parliament, who defeated their opponents in an engagement on Pitchcroft, and Prince Rupert escaped into Herefordshire. The Earl of Essex arrived in Worcester the same night, with his parliamentarian army; the cathedral and city were pillaged, and a ransom of £5,000 levied, besides a guarantee entered into that the citizens should lend £3,000

to the parliament. A gallows was also erected in the market-place, where some of the townsmen were hung for taking part with the prince. At this time I find the following entry:

"P^d for hoggshed of Gascoyne wine and sugar loaves given to the Earl of Essex, being in this city with his army, 8^l."

Essex then marched rapidly after the king, leaving behind him his chief force and heaviest guns.

1643.—"Paid by force of a chamber acte unto Mr. Thos. Essex, who was by the Earl of Essex at the time of his invading the said city appointed governor thereto, and was given unto the said Thos. Essex, at the time of his departure, to free this city from plundering, 40^l."

"Paid to T. Clarke, for the spoiling of his goods by entertaining the governor Essex, 5^l."

This year brought with it chequered fortunes for both parties. The queen (who had been to Holland) returned home, and the Worcester corporation sent her a rich velvet purse, containing £100. The "popular" cause became depressed, and the king received reinforcements. Large sums of money were raised in Worcester, and complaints were made that "the constables appointed to raise the money for the soldiers did not account for the same, but kept it themselves." The city was newly fortified, and every man who bore arms, or who sent a person to work in the fortifications, was excused from a portion of the heavy rating which at this time fell upon the inhabitants. The king at one time required £4,000 from the city, but it could not be raised, and the assessors were instructed to raise as much of it as they could. Three hundred workmen were daily employed on the fortifications, by order of Prince Rupert. The city was divided into six parts, each to work by turn, and an order was made—

"That all strangers and their servants, and all ministers, as prebends, deans, and chapters, singing men, or any whatsoever living within the fortifications in the in or out countre, do work as long as

the work endures, or send a man, or pay 1s a day on neglect. Every man to bring a spade, shovel, or pick-axe, or buy one."

Heavy charges are made for gunpowder, fuel for guards, *bricks* for mending the city walls and the tower on the bridge, for the chain drawn across the Severn for defence, and especially for provisions to the royal family :

"Paid for a hoggshed of claret, 20 galls. sack, 1 tierce of white wine, presented to Prince Maurice, when at Upton, 16l 17s 10d."

This dose was repeated when the prince afterwards arrived at Worcester, where he ran up a pretty bill for house-keeping. Lord Capell, Sir W. Russell, and Col. Sandys, fared equally well. The king, having fled from Essex and Waller at Oxford, took forced marches to Worcester, being followed by Waller. The annexed items refer to that event :

"Paid to Chris. Barnacle for his Majesty's soldiers, when they brought powder, bullets, and shot to this city, 4l 7s 9d."

"To the countrymen and soldiers who came to assist when the city was besieged by Sir W. Waller and his army, 3l 18s 8d."

"Two purses to put 200l in, that was given by the city to his Majesty, 8d."

"One ditto to Prince Rupert, containing 100l, 4d."

"Ditto to Prince Maurice, ditto, ditto."

"Six axletrees for his Majesty's carriage, 4s."

"To two guides for his Majesty's carriage to Bewdley, 4s 6d."

Charles had removed with his army to Bewdley, that he might keep the Severn between himself and the foe ; and Waller, supposing the king was proceeding to Shrewsbury, threw himself between Bewdley and the former town ; whereupon Charles suddenly returned to Worcester, and hastened through Evesham to join the remainder of his forces at Oxford.

"For a reame of browne paper, to lappe gunpowder in when Waller besieged the city, 2s."

"For wooden horse for the soldiers, 9s."

These wooden horses were made with sharp-edged backs, intended as a punishment for disorderly soldiers, who were compelled to sit thereon for a certain time with or without stirrups, and in some cases (as seen in old prints) with carbines fastened to their feet, thus—

On June 17 of this year an order was made for £1,000, "to be suddenly raised to his majesty by to-morrow night." In December, the corporation "wish the governor and commissioners to be acquainted that they desire to petition for peace, but they wish to see the petition to be agreed on by the country first." This, of course, had reference to the negotiations at that time set on foot at Uxbridge, between the king and the parliament, and the failure of which was attributable to Charles's estimation of his temporary successes having induced him to propose too arbitrary terms.

In 1645 Worcester was in possession of Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, the latter being at one time governor. It is again complained of, that "the monthly contributions could not be

raised," and the governor was accused of "having several months' contributions to himself." The help of Prince Maurice and some of his troops was even called in to compel the people to pay. There were at that time 1,800 soldiers raised for the defence of the city. This year the king passed through Worcester with his army, from Shipston-on-Stour, towards Herefordshire, and I find an entry of various items of expense incurred by "the Scots king;" the chamberlains also "pray to be allowed for butter pots and napkins, bottles, &c., sent to the denary, and there lost." In November the mayor and aldermen "desired to move the governor concerning the monthly paie, and that it be mitigated or taken away in respect of the excise, and of the great decay of families in this citie;" and in the following month it was "referred to the maior and aldermen to consider what presents or new year's gifts shall be presented to the Lord General and the governor, Sir Martin Sandys" (an ancestor of the present Lord Sandys, of Ombersley). Prince Rupert had then left the city, while he moved on to join his forces with the king's, at Oxford.

The year 1646 witnessed another siege of Worcester. Governor Washington, who then held the city on behalf of the king, having refused to surrender it at the request of Fairfax, Colonel Whalley encamped on Rainbow Hill, and at that time an assessment of twelve score pounds weekly for one month was levied; and if the enemy remove, the payment to cease. The result of this siege is well known. The battle of Naseby, the king's retreat from Oxford, and his being held in durance by the Scotch army, had so chilled the royal cause, that the city was surrendered in July to Major-General Reynesborough,* who had succeeded Whalley; and in that month the corporation presented to the Major-General "a hoggshed of claret, a runlett sack of 12 galls., and six sugar loaves."

* Reynesborough was afterwards murdered in cold blood by some Cavaliers at Doncaster.

The following notes respecting this siege, although not now printed for the first time, are introduced here as illustrative of the eventful times herein recorded, and of many of the ancient localities of the city:

"June 2—a great iron culverin burst at St. Martin's gate, and wounded the best engineer and a matross. 11th—a cannon ball struck the bishop's palace. 13th—one of the four pieces of ordnance fired into the town that day killed a poor man and his wife who were in bed in the Trinity. 14th—Sir Rowland Berkley's house in the Corn-market was much damaged by the ordnance. 15th—Captain Hodgkins, an officer of horse, called 'Wicked Will,' for his desperateness and valour, sallied out, with 16 horse, in a drunken exploit, and attacked the besiegers' court of guard in St. John's, killed one, and returned safe, though so drunk that he fell twice by the way, and was carried over the Severn in a boat half asleep. On the same day the cannon at the Key played at that guard, and killed five men at the back of the Swan inn, St. John's. 24th—an iron saker broke at the Blockhouse, one piece, 160 lbs. weight, fell upon the Rose and Crown inn, near St. Helen's Church, and some in Broad Street; it wounded four persons. The cessation of arms, which had taken place on the 27th, ending on the 29th, the first cannon was fired at the besiegers by the governor himself, and did execution. The cannon at the Castle-hill shot the steeple at St. John's. One of the culverins at the Severn hit the great cannon at Rogers's Hill. July 4th—a ball from Barnshall went over the College, and fell in Broad-street. 5th—a smart skirmish took place, begun by the besieged, in which the governor assisted; it lasted near an hour, although one man only was wounded. This skirmish is, indeed, more remarkable for the needless risk the governor ran of being either killed or captured, and the town consequently endangered, than for any importance it was of to either party: his own horse, and that of Colonel Walsh, were wounded. 6th—Captain 'Wicked Will' made a second sally; behaved most gallantly, and brought in seven prisoners. 10th—a shot from the top of Perry Wood Hill, towards the Redhill-cross, hit the Priory gate, being a long mile distant from the works. 11th—two brass sling pieces were carried to the top of the tower which commands Windmill-hill. 12th—A ball fired from Rogers's Hill struck the Town-hall, and rolled from thence to the Earl's Post, a distance of forty yards."

The city was much crippled on this occasion, the parliamentary army exacting 25 per cent. of every man's estate, and so

squeezing him, that, to use the words of Green, "he cannot recover in an age." About the same time this entry occurs:

"Ordered—that Ald. Solly, by order of Parl^{t}, for being in actual arms ags^{t} the Parl^{t}, and seducing others to doe the like, be removed from his office."

We now pass on to the year 1651. The unhappy Charles had meanwhile bedewed the scaffold with his blood, and the Scotch Covenanters had raised the standard of Charles II, as king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The latter marched into England with his Scotch army, followed by Cromwell. The gates of Worcester were opened to the former, and here he was proclaimed king with great solemnity. The city was again fortified with extreme haste. An original document is now in the possession of Mr. Page, of Salwarpe, near Droitwich, of which the following is a copy:

"CHARLES R.

"You are hereby required to send out of your parish thirty able men, to work at the fortificacons of this city, and in regarde of the necessity to beginne to-morrow morning (Monday, at five o'clock) whereof you and they are not to faile as you tend^{r} our displeasure. Given at our court at Worcester the 24th of August, 1651.

"To the constables and tythingmen of Salwarpe.

"And you are to bringe with you spades, shovels, and pick-axes."

The disastrous "Battle of Worcester" followed, in which Charles and his Scotch army were completely routed, the former escaping in various disguises, and after many romantic vicissitudes, into France. The corporation annals contain no record of these stirring facts except the following, which is decidedly of a piece with the character of that nation whose gratitude and esteem the Duke of Argyle is said to have conciliated by the erection of scratching posts:

"Paid for pitch and rosen to p'fume the hall after the Scots, 2s."

The result of the repeated contests in which Worcester was engaged at this period was most destructive, and in 1664 the corporation petitioned his majesty "for reparacon for the citie's losses," but with what success does not appear, except that two years afterwards an entry was made of £500 advanced by the company of the 24 and 48, for "one year's tax of the additional act for the royal aid." So much for the gratitude of the Stuart!

THE WALLS.

At the close of the Civil Wars the city of Worcester was so dismantled of its fortifications that but few traces of them now remain, except on the western side, overlooking the Severn. Among the chamber orders for the year 1768 I discovered the draft of a document which bears upon this point; and since that time Mr. Black has published in the journal of the British Archæological Association the announcement of his having discovered the original, which is written on parchment, and sealed with the common seal of the city, on a wafer between paper on a parchment label; it was found among the old miscellaneous documents recently removed from the Treasury Chambers to the Rolls House, and purports to have originated in application then being made by the magistrates of the county to obtain from the crown a grant of the site of the Worcester fortifications. The city hereby asserted its claim, and still remain in possession. There is no account of any minute being made on the subject by the treasury board; the document serves, therefore, at this time (as Mr. Black observes), not only as evidence of right by long possession,* but it furnishes a link in the chain

* Indeed, had this been wanting, I find in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth a standing order that both the old and new corporations should yearly, in company, perambulate round the city walls, &c., so as perpetually to transmit a recollection of their legal boundary. Also in the

of history, relative to the external defences of the city of Worcester, almost midway between the time of their dismantling and their present state:

"To the Right Honourable the Lord Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury,

"The memorial of the mayor, aldermen, and citizens, of the city of Worcester, in council assembled,

"Showeth,—That your memorialists are greatly surprized to hear that application is making to your lordships by the justices of the county of Worcester, not only for a grant of certain lands in the county of Worcester, but also of the scite of the ancient fortifications in and about the city of Worcester, with the ramparts, fosses, ditches, and other wast grounds belonging to the crown, and now (as is alleged) lying useless and unproffitable, both to the crown and the publick, but capable of being improved and made beneficial to both.

"Your memorialists therefore most humbly beg leave to represent to your lordships, that the city of Worcester is a very ancient and populous city, and a county of itself, distinct and separate from the county of Worcester at large; and that your memorialists and their predecessors have for several centuries last past, held, used, and enjoyed divers liberties, franchises, messuages, lands, tenements, commons, wasts, wast grounds, soils, pourprestures, and other rights, priviledges, and immunities, within the said city, as well as by various charters to their said predecessors granted and confirmed by several kings and queens of this realm, as also by divers prescriptions and customs in the same city, used and approved by the said charters, from time to time confirmed and established.

"That your memorialists apprehend it is indubitable that the ancient fortifications and walls of this city were originally built

chamber order books it is stated that the bishop had formerly remitted to the corporation their "church money" to the use of the city walls, but that having required a restoration thereof, a suit arose about the year 1554.

by the citizens thereof for their security and defence, and that the same were constantly repaired, held, and enjoyed by them, until the greatest part therof were demolished at the time of the civil wars of this kingdom, subject to the special power in the crown to garrison troops in the said city, and to occupy the fortifications for the defence thereof, as the exigency of publick affairs and the safety of the kingdom required.

"That ever since the said fortifications were demolished (of which there are few traces now remaining), your memorialists and their predecessors and tenants have peaceably held, enjoyed, and repaired the remains thereof, and kept in order the ditches, and improved the wast lands within the said city, so that the same in general are now in a cultivated state, and not useless and unprofitable. And your memorialists humbly apprehend and insist they have a right to hold and enjoy the same.

"Wherefore, your memorialists humbly beg leave to remonstrate against any grant to be made by the crown to any persons whatsoever in prejudice to your memorialists' claims and right to the scite of the ancient fortifications, with the ramparts, fosses, ditches, and other wast grounds within the city of Worcester. And humbly pray that no order may be made for a grant thereof. And that your memorialists may have notice of any further proceedings that shall be taken in order to obtain such grant, and have liberty to oppose the same, and to be heard by themselves or their councel, in such a manner as to your lordships shall seem meet.

"In witness whereof, your memorialists have hereto put their common seal, this 23rd day of March, in the year of our Lord 1768.

(L. S.)

"Indorsed:—'Worcester. The memoriall of the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the city of Worcester, to the Lords of the Treasury.

"'Wilmot, Bloomsbury Square.'"

Ceremonials and Royal Visits.

"To crook the pregnant hinges of the knee"—SHAKSPEARE.

"Not to use ceremonies at all, is to teach others not to use them again; and so diminisheth respect to himself; especially they are not to be omitted to strangers and formal natures; but the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the moon, is not only tedious, but doth diminish the faith and credit of him that speaks; and certainly there is a kind of conveying of effectual and imprinting passages amongst compliments, which is of singular use, if a man can hit upon it"—BACON.

THE following items, which I have collected under this head, may serve to contrast with the form and fashion of the ceremonials observed now-a-days, if indeed it can be said that any remain to us. The corporation as a body formerly attended the funeral of every deceased member, and stringent orders were made, both in the reign of Edward VI and Elizabeth, that every member of the corporation should assist in "bringing councillors to their burying." Fines were rigidly enforced against those who attended the chamber meetings not wearing their gowns of office; and in 1643—a time when great onus fell upon the city authorities—every councillor not found at his post within half an hour of the appointed time was to be bound in sureties for good behaviour, or to go to gaol till he could do so. Obstinate members were at other times fined or expelled. There were also standing orders in the by-law book to the following effect: the mayor, aldermen, and

chamberlain, with their brethren, sat as magistrates every Friday, and if either of them did not attend on being sent for, he was fined 6d. to obviate the difficulty of obtaining a quorum.

"Mr. Maior, every Saboth and festival daye, is to wear his murry gound and tippett, except such days as are appointed for scarlet."

Also,

"It is ordered for a cumley and decent order to be observed within this city, as in other cities of good order and government, that *as often as there shal be any s'mon* at the cathedral church, upon the ringing of the college bell upon every Saboth daye and festivall daye and holy daye, that Mr. Maior and aldermen, and all the gent^{n} of the 24, and all the companie of the 48, shall assemble themselves and meet at the Tolsey and new walke, and at St. Helline's walke, to thend that Mr. Maior shall not go alone but by companie to the cathedral church, in decent manner, for the credit and worshipe of this citie, so as the said Mr. Maior and aldermen doe come together before the bell cease ringing, in defaute thereof by Mr. Maior and aldermen, to paye evry of them 2^{s}, and every of the 24, 1^{s}, and evry of the 48, 6^{d}, except sickness or other lawful or urgent occasions let or hinder them."

In 1649 all the chamber were requested to come in their gowns every Sunday to the college or their parish church, upon pain of forfeiting 2s. and 1s. respectively.

In 1731 a singular order was made—

"That the poor men in Nash's and Inglethorp's almshouses do attend Mr. Mayor every Sunday to church, unless they have a reasonable excuse to the contrary, on pain of forfeiting the next week's pay after such their default."

The corporation also claimed to themselves a prescriptive right in a seat in each of the parish churches. This, I suppose, is a custom as old as the existence of corporations themselves, provision having undoubtedly been made for the accommodation of the mayor at his own parish church, and for any of the ruling body whenever they accompanied him.

1735.—"Ordered, that a proctor be employed to appear at the next court, to be holden before the Chancellor of the diocese of Worcester,

to defend the right of the mayor and aldermen to a seat in the parish church of St. Nicholas, and if the rector and inhabitants of St. Nicholas agree to let Mr. Mayor and Aldermen have a seat, then that the mayor have power to alter or fit up the seat, and the expence to be borne by the corporation."

1738.—"Ordered, that the expence of fitting up a seat for the mayor and aldermen in the parish church of St. Swithen, be paid."

The aptitude of the people of Worcester for pageant and ceremonial, was confirmed by the frequent presence of royalty in this city. The Norman conqueror kept his Christmas here, and his example was followed by many of his successors. Henry II was crowned in Worcester cathedral, where he made a vow never more to wear his crown; at the same time the great assembly of the nation was held here. King John was a patron of Worcester, and performed his devotions at Wulstan's tomb, which had then the fame of working miracles. Prince Arthur's funeral was an occasion of unwonted pageantry and magnificence, and the following account of that extraordinary event is taken from Leland's *Collectanea:*

CEREMONIAL OF PRINCE ARTHUR'S FUNERAL.

"The corpse of the Prince, after being well cered, and conveniently dressed with spices and other sweet stuffe, so sufficiently done that it needed not lead, was chested. On St. George's Day it was removed with great funeral pomp from the Castle of Ludlow to the parish church, from whence on St. Mark's Day the procession set forward on its way to Worcester. At Bewdley it rested that night, the body being carried to the chapel. At every parish church, or religious house, or order, that met the corpse in procession, or had rang their bells, a noble of gold, four torches, and six scutcheons of arms were presented to them. From Bewdley Sir Richard Croft and Sir William Ovedall, Steward and Comptroller of the Prince's Household, rode before to Worcester, the gate of which they ordered to be shut until the corpse arrived, when the order of procession was as follows.

"Fresh scocheons were sett on the charre, and draught horses were mended, and VI^{xx} new torches delivered to the VI^{xx} torch bearers at the towne's end. That daye was faire, and then the gentlemen rode two and two together, and all the other as were before ordered. The order of fryers censed the corpse at the towne's end, and then proceeded to the gate of the cittie: at which gate were the Bayliffs and the honest men of that cittie on foote. Alonge in a rowe on every side were the vicar generall or chauncelor of the bishopps of that see, with a good number of secular canons in graye amys with rich copes: and other curats, secular priests, clerks, and children, with surplisses in great number, and I suppose all the torches of the towne. These went on every side of the street before the newe torches; and all of them were as many as might well stande from the towne gate to the great church. The gentlemen were convayed through the street on the left hand before the church yard; (Leech Street) at which gate the iiij bishops in rich copes censed the corpes: and there it was taken out of the charre, and convayed under canopie as before, with banners and all things. Within the church yard were the abbotts and the prior with his convent all in pontificalibus, that is to saie, the Abbots of Gloucester, Evisham, Chester, Shrewsbury, Tewksbury, Hayles, and Bordesley, the Priors of Worcester and of . . . . And thus with procession proceeded through the quiere to the herse, which was the goodlyest and best wrought and garnished that ever I sawe.

"There were xviii lights, two great standards, a banner of the King's armes, a banner of the King of Spaine's armes, a banner of the Queen's armes, a banner of the Queene of Spaine's armes, a banner of the Prince's armes, a banner of the Princesse's arms, two of Wales, one of Kadwalader, a bannerell of Normandye, a banerell of Guien, a banerell of Cornwall, a banerell of Chester, a banerell of Poyctowe, and 100 pencills of

divers badges; also the rich cloth of Majestie, well fringed and double rayled, covered with black cloth, was layed under foote, which after was the fees to the officers of armes.

"At *Dirige* were nyne lessons, after the custome of that church. The first was read by the Abbot of Tewksbury, the second by the Abbot of Shrewsbury, the third by the Abbot of Chester, the fourth by the Abbot of Easham, the fifth by the Abbot of Gloucester, the sixth by the Prior of Worcester, the seventh by the Buishop of Chester, the eighth by the Buishop of Salisbury, and the ninthe by the Buishop of Lincolne. At the *Magnificat* and *Benedictus* all that were in pontificalibus did cence the corpes at once; at the same tyme the vicar generall, with all the seculars, sange *Dirige* in our Ladyes Chapell.

"That night there was a goodly watche of lordes, knights, esquiers, gentlemen ushers, officers of armes, yeomen, and manye others.

"On the morne, by viii of the clocke, were all the mourners redye at our Ladye masse, which was songe by the Bishop of Chester. An abbot was the gospeller, and a prior the epistoler: at which masse the Earle of Surrey (chief mourner) offred as before at Ludlowe. (A piece of gould and V^{s} for the masse pennye.)

"The second masse was of the Trinitie, songe by the Bishoppe of Salisbury. At which masse the Earle of Surrey offred, viz., 5^{s} for the masse pennye. At that masse two abbats were gospellers and epistolers.

"The third masse was of *Requiem*, songe by the Buishoppe of Lincolne. The Abbot of Hayles was epistoler, and the Abbot of Tewksbury gospeller.

"The manore of offringe at the masse, viz.

"First, the carpet and the cushion were laid, and all the mourners, noblemen, officers, and serjeants of armes, went

before him to the offring of that masse penney, and so conveyed him againe. Then two of the officers of armes delivered the cote of armes imbroidered unto the Earles of Shrewsbury and of Kent, and they and the serjeants of armes went before them. The officers of armes delivered the shield to the Lord Graye Ruthen and the Lord Dudley; likewise the sword, the point forward, to the Lord Powys and Sir Richard Poole. After that the helme with the crest to Lord John Graye of Dorsett, and to the said Sir Richard Poole. Then Sir John Mortimer Bannerett, Sir Richard de la Vere, Bannerett, Sir Thomas Cornwall, and Sir Robert Throgmorton, Batchelors, convayed the man of armes, which was the Earle of Kildare's sonne and heire, called the Lord Garrard, armed with the Prince's owne harneys on, a courser richly trapped with a trapper of velvet embrothered with needleworke of the Prince's armes, with a pollaxe in his hande, the head downwards, into the midst of the queere, where the Abbot of Tewksbury, gospeller of that mass, received the offring of that horse. Then the said man of armes alighted, and was led with the axe in his hand, as before, to the buyshoppe, by Sir Richard Croft, Steward, and Sir William Ovedall, Comptroller, and from thence to the vestry: but to have seene the weepinge when the offringe was done, he had a hard heart that wept not. That done, the three earles went up together and offred for themselves. There went no officer then before them, nor carpet nor cushion after them. The barons, baneretts, and batchelors, and all men that would, saving those of the cittie, because of the sickness that then rained amongst them, offred in our Ladye Chappell to the vicar generall, who also kept the iij generall masses.

"All the offrings of money done, the Lord Powys went to the queere doore, where two gentlemen ushers delivered him a rich palle of cloth of gould of tyssue, which he offred to the corpse, where two officers of armes receaved it, and laid it along the

corpse. The Lord of Dudley in like manner offred a palle, which the said officers laid over the corpse. The Lord Greye Ruthen offred another; and every each of the three earles offred to the corpse three palles of the same cloth of gould: the lowest earle began first. All the palles were layd crosse over the corpse.

"That done, the sermon beganne, said by a noble doctor: enduring which there was a great generall dole of groates to every poore man and woman.

"At tyme of St. John's gospell, Sir Griffith ap Rice offered to the deacon the rich embrothered banner of my lordes armes.

"The gospell finished, all the aforesaid prelats came and senced the corpse, with all the convent standing without the uttermost barres, singing divers and many anthemes. At every *Kurie Elyeson* an officer at armes, with a high voice, said, *For Prince Arthur's Soule, and all Christians soules, Pater Noster.* That finished, a minister of the church tooke away the palles: and then gentlemen tooke up the corpse and bare it to the grave, at the South end of the high altar of that cathedrall church, where were all the divine services. Then the corpse, with weeping and sore lamentation, was laid in the grave: the orisons were said by the Bishop of Lincolne, also sore weeping. He sett the crosse over the chest, and cast holy water and earth thereon. His officer of armes, sore weeping, tooke of his coate of armes, and cast it along over the chest right lamentably. Then Sir William Ovedall, Comptroller of his houshold, sore weeping and crying, tooke the staffe of his office by both endes, and over his own head brake it, and cast it into the grave. In likewise did Sir Ric. Croft, Steward of his houshold, and cast his staffe broken into the grave. In likewise did the gentlemen ushers their roddes. This was a piteous sight to those who beheld it.

"All things thus finished, there was ordayned a great dinner: and in the morne a proclamation was made openly in that cittie,

that if any man could shewe any victualls unpaid in that countrey, that had been taken by any of that noble Prince's servants before that day, they should come and shewe it to the late steward, comptroller, and cofferer, and they should be contented.

"Thus God have mercye on good Prince Arthur's soule."

To pursue the subject of ceremonials, I pass on to other royal visits. Those of the Stuarts, and especially that remarkable visitation by King James II, are alluded to in other portions of this work; but perhaps the most interesting and gorgeous reception of royalty was that given to Elizabeth in 1575, the description of which, as given in the chamber order book, would have made the "fashionable reporter" of the *Morning Post* turn yellow with jealousy, had his lot been cast in those days. Although this amusing document has already been printed in Green's work, I shall make no apology for republishing it in my own, as probably many of my readers are not in possession of that more costly publication:

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S VISIT TO WORCESTER.

"*Civitas Wigorn.*

"At a convocation and common council holden at the Geld Hall of the said citie, in the Councell Chamber there, the sixteenth day of July, in the seventeenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God, England, France, and Yerland Queen, Defender of the Fayth, &c.

"I. Inprimis, for as much as it is reported that the Queen's Majestie will come to this citie, hit is agreed, that before her Majestie's comyng the fower gates shall be sett in some decent color, viz. in an ashe color, with her Majestie's arms both within and without.

"II. Item, that every person havyng any donghills or myskyns and tymber within the liberties, shall cause the same

to be carryed away within ten days next, and so shall kepe cleane their soyles, and pave the same with all convenyent spede ; and that every inhabitant of the Foregate Street, the Hygh Street, the Broad Street, Newport Street, and so on to the bridge unto the end of the liberties, the Leech Lane, Sudbury Street, to the end of the liberties there, shall provide gravell for their soyles.

"III. Item, that every inhabitant within the liberties of the citie shall forthwith whitlyme and color their howses with comeley colors.

"IV. Item, that the chamberlains shall set out very comeley with colors the front of the Geld Hall, with gelding the Queen's arms.

"V. Item, the fouer maces and the aldermans staff shall be gylt on the heds, the fethers, and knotts.

"VI. Item, two pageants, or stages, to be sett forward, viz. the one at the Grass Crosse, and the other in St. Alban's Street end, at St. Helen's Church.

"VII. Item, Mr. Bell, as depute to Sir John Throckmorton, knyght, our recorder, to be spoken with touching the oration, and to be rewarded for his paynes.

"VIII. Item, the Grass Cross and the cross with[t] Sidbury to be set in colors, together with the Kyngs pycture* at Sudbury Gate.

"IX. Item, that Mr. Baylyffs, Mr. Aldermen and the High Chamberlain in scarlett, and to have their horses in reddyness at Salt Lane end in the Foregate Street, to meet her Majestie, and to beare their maces on horseback before her Majestie, and that the rest of the number of the 24 that hath been Baylyffs, in scarlett gownes faced with black satten, with doubletts of satten, on foote ; and the other the residue of them in murrey in grayne ; and the 48 in their liverey gownes of velvet in

* A statue was called a picture ; this was a statue of a king now unknown ; it was in being when the gate was taken down.

grayne, faier and comeley, with the rest of the freemen and every occup'on by himself in their gowns and other decent apparel on a row on the East side of the said street, and before every occupation their streamers to be holden.

"X. Item, that the livery gownes of every company of the chamber to be view^{d} by Mr. Baylyffs and their brethren, and to be comeley and decent.

"XI. Item, that Mr. Dighton being high baylyff, at the next chamber after the Queens Majesties dep'ture from this city, shall be by this house consid^{d} either with money or some other recompence in cons^{n} as well for taking upon him the charge of his office for this year, as also towards his extraordinary charges during her Majesties beyng heere.

"XII. Item, a fare cupp to be bought at London, for the presenting the gyfte to the Queens Majestie, and £40 in sov'raignes and angells of her own coign and stamp.

"XIII. Item, that Mr. High Bayliffs shall see all officers and servants of the Queens Majestie to be paid their ascustomed fees and rewards.

"XIV. Item, a cupp worth £10 to be provided and bought to present Sir James Crofte, Knt^{t}, Controller of the Queens Majesties howse, for his councell and friendship shewed to this citie.

"XV. Item, it is agreed that £212 shall be levied towards the charges in receiving the Queens Majestie, as followeth—

"Inprimis, to be borrowed out of the tresury of the city £20.

"Item, to be levied by the way of tax of the chamber, viz. £96, viz. of every of the 24, 40s. and of every of the 48, 20s.

"Item, of the inhabitants, com'ons, and citizens of the citie £96.

"Collectors of the 24 charge { RICHARD NICOLLS, RICHARD DAROK.

"Collectors of the 48 charge { ROBERT CROSBYE, THOMAS LAYTE.

"XVI. Item, Mr. Bayliffs shall nominate the assessors of the comonaltie towards their charges as followeth—

"The Assessors of every Ward.

"The High Ward £20.—John Parton, Stephen Whitfoote, Thomas Ward, Thomas Harley.

"Allhallow Ward £20.—John Harte, Thomas Spencer, Thomas Antony, Thomas Porter.

"St. Andrew Ward £13. 6s. 8d.—Thomas Handley, Francis Nott, John Case, Thomas Yate.

"St. Suitens Ward £13. 6s. 8d.—Thomas Adams, John Archer, William Blagden, John Bradshaw.

"St. Peters Ward £13. 6s. 8d.—Peter Humphreys, Will. Cullambyne, Rob. Shepherd, Will. Wythe.

"St. Nicholas Ward £13. 6s. 8d.—R. Howsman, Hugh Hollyngshead, Ant. Wythe, W. Jackson.

"St. Clement £3.—Hugh Chadock, Harry Kynnett, with the constables of each ward.

"XVII. Item, it is agreed that there be in readiness 17 post horses through the citie, and ready to shew.—The High Ward 4 post horses; Allhallow Ward, 4; St. Andrew Ward, 2; St. Martin Ward, 2; St. Peters Ward, 2; Saint Nicholas Ward, 2; Saint Clements Ward, 1.

"*The Order of receiving the Queen's Majestie, with a breef Discourse of her contynued Manner here.*

"Viz. On Saturday the thirteenth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand fyve hundred sevente-fyve, and in the 17th year of the raigne of our most victorious and sovereign Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Yirland Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c. the same her Highness came towards this citie from the castle of Hartlebury, where she did rest the night before in her progrese, between

7 and 8 of the clock in the afternoone of the same Seturday, and did alight at a house neer to the same citie, called Whystons Farme,* their to attier herself, in that respect of her wyllyng good mynde to show herself comfortable to the cytyzens [Elizabeth was an arrant coquette] and to a great number of people of all countreys ab^{t} her assembled. And after a little space her Majestie came rydyng upon her palfrey towards the said citie; and in the confines of the liberties of the same citie, beyng at Salt Lane end, Mr. Christ^{r} Dighton and Mr. Richd Spark, bailiffs of the s^{d} citie, Mr. Thomas Heywood and Mr. John Coombs, aldermen of the same, and Mr. George Warberton, high chamberlain of the citie afores^{d}, together with one Mr. Willim Bellu, master of arts, supplying the place and roome of Sir John Throckmorton, knyght, recorder of the s^{d} citie, together with others to the nomber of 12 persons, who had ben baylyffs, all in scarlett gowns faced with black satten, and the residue of the nomber of the 24 in murrey in grayne gownes, and all the 48 in violett in grayne gownes, and all other occupations [Trading companies], standing on a row on the East side of the Foregate Street, in their best apparell, having severally their streamers holden before ev'y occup'on, and streching up very near to the Foregate, and at the presence of her Majestie approaching neer to the said confines of the s^{d} liberties, the said baylyffs and all the residue afores^{d} on their knees, the s^{d} Mr. Bellue, an orator, kneeling betweene the s^{d} baylyffs, began in grateful words and feir speeches on the cities behalf to yeld up our lib'ties unto her Majesties hands, by their maces; and the s^{d} Mr. Dighton kyssing his mace, delivered the same to her

* It is said to have been from the garden of this house that a large pear tree in full fruit was removed and placed at the Cross when the Queen visited this city, and from which she added to the city arms the *black pear*, in admiration, it is said, of the excellent government and order of the town, by which such beautiful and tempting fruit was preserved in so public a situation.

Majestie, the wch she bowyng her body towards hym rec'ed with a cheerful countenance, and sayd it was very well; and so the residue, viz. Mr. lowe Bayluff, Mr. Aldermen, in like manner yelding up their maces, and the s^d high chamberlain the aldermans staff, the which all she rec'ed, as before, and redelivered the same again severally unto others; after which done, they all resorted again to their places, and all kneeling, the said Mr. Bellue began his oration,* wch oration doth appear verbatim in the beginning of this book (so the corporation scribe declares) for lack of paper.

"Bellu's Oration.

"First began—I will brieflie dyvert to yor Majesties noble p'genitors, to whom this poore citie hath been especially bounde; wherein albeit I might say moche as touchyng the first foundac'on and peoplyng of the same, and how it grew up to a florishing estate, and of the situat'on thereof, beyng always a frontier and bulworke of bolde and obedient serviceable subjects against the sundry invasions and undue attempts of the Welshe men, who at this day, to their grett comendac'on and perpetual prayse, lyve in most dutiful obedience and cyvell societie wth us, under yor Majesties most mercifull government —I will for hono^r sake begyn with worthy Worfarnis, first Chrysten Kynge of Martia or Medle England, who of his kinglie affect'on towards this towne, abowte nyne hundred yeres past, by his charter granted and made Worcester a citie. Abowt which tyme the inhib'ants here first began their marte of wooles and trade of clothyng, wch ev^r synce and to this day is the onely relief and meyntenance of this citie. After whom Offa, Edgar, Henry the Second, Richard the First, Richard the Second, Edward the Second, and Edward the Fourth, of like pryncelie

* I don't know whether Stenography was much in use in those days, but Mr. Bellu no doubt wisely carried his speech in his pocket, to avoid the alternative of his wisdom perishing with him.

favo^{r}, endowed this citie wth sundry charters, liberties, and pryviledgs, to the great advancement of this poore com'on weale; of all whom as we are bound to make reverent remembrance for thankfull deserte, so most especially of yor Majesties nearest and dearest progenytors, namely, that pollytike prynce yor Majesties gr'ndfather, Kynge Henry the Seventh, yor Highnes father, of famous memory, Kynge Henry the Eyght; that Prince of grettest hope, King Edward the Sixte, yor Majesties brother, and Queen Mary, yor Highnes dearest sister, of whos grett and kyndly favo^{r} as this citie happelie fealte, so pleased it that second Salamon, yor Hyghnes gr'ntfather, in his kynglie person, together with the Queen his wyff, the Countes of Rychemond, his mother, and Prynce Arthur, yor Majesties deerest uncle, to vysite this citie, where duryng the tyme of his abode hit pleased his Highnes so thankfully to accept of the poor good will and loyall affect'on of the citesyns, as at this day ther remayne in regyster of record, amongst sondry comfortable speeches, witnessyng the same; and as we have just cause w'th the whole body of this realm generally to rejoyce of yor Majestie, and the unspeakable benefytts that God in his mercy hath blessed us thereby, so have we specially occasion to be thankfull to the same, not onlie for the confirmac'on and corroborac'on of all our former charters, lib'ties, and priviledges, but also for that yor Majestie in yor careful breaste moche tenderyng the vertuous education of youth in the feare of God, and with pryncelie pittie and reg^{d} for the needy estate of Christian poore members, have not onlie granted us ther havyng of a freeschole wthin this citie, but also graciously encreased the stipend thereof, and maintenance of ten poor people for ever to be relievd amongst us. A work first intended by the charitable devoc'on of certen good citesyns here, and now lately enlarged, augmented and confyrmed by your Highness. By thes most bountyfull benefytes by yor Majesties noble progenitors of

worthiest memory, and by yor Hygness conferred unto us, wch for avoyding perplexitie we may not particularly remember, together with the painful labor, industrye, and diligence of good citesyns, this citie of long tyme so increased in wealth, substance, and beautifull buildings, and became so fortunate in the trade of clothyng, as by the onelie means thereof, in good and fresh memory of man, ther wer here used and meynteyned for the said trade of clothyng three hundred and fowrscore great loomes, whereby eight thowsand p'sons wer' well meyntained in wealth and abilitie, besides mrs and their children. Then florished this citie, and became populus; then were the inhabitants here no less able then reddy for service of their prynce and country; they frended with many. But why remember we the tyme past with such commendac'on of the floryshing estate therof? or why do we shewe yor Majestie of things that late wer', and now ar' not, with that greef of mynde? may we remember that Worcester, one of the most ancient cities of yr kyngdom, was some tyme wealthy, bewtifull, and well inh'ited; synce at this day yor Majestie shall see and fynde the wealth wasted and decayed, the bewty faded, the buylding ruin'd, the three hundred and fowerscore loomes of clothyng comen to the nomeber of one hundred and three score, and thereby above fyve thowsand p'sons, that wer' lately well wrought and relieved, now wantyng the same; so that of all that was, ther' is allmost nothynge lefte but a ruynous citie, or decaied antiquities, such as we see, the changes of fortune and chance of tyme; all wch we wayll not with intent to crave any of yor Majesties liberalitie wherewith to be releavd, especially at such tyme as it hath pleased the same by paynful travel to visit our city, but thereby to showe our want of hability so worthelie to receave yor Majestie, as to yor Hygnes p'son apperteyneth: nether bewayle we our losses to come by any other meanes then by casualty of unlooked for troubles, as the breach

of fayth lies in merchants, and restraint of trafyque, wch trafyque beyng now restored by yor Majesties prynceley prudense, breedyth in us an assured hope shortelie to see the restitution of our former floreshyng estate, to the hyndrance whereof there remaynth one especial apparent impedyment by the nomeber of pyrates apon the seas,* and they not to be accompted of, for seying yor Majestie hath prepared to yo^{r}self so mighty a waye as never any of yor noble progenytors ever had the like: so may yor Hygness, whensover it shall seem good to the same, very easily daunt and represse thos robberes, that yor subjects may with safety sayle with their trafyque. To the perfection of this hope yor Majesties comyng to this citie, wth whos joyfull presence it hath pleased God to bewtifie the same, doothe bothe look, and, as it were, prognosticate unto us the reverse of all our adverse fortune into a more happy and prosperous estate. In the joyfull daies of whos coronation thes worthy citesyns then and now under yor Majesties chief officer thereof, the whole citie did so rejoyce and so effectually sygnyfie the same by the p'fuse expence of their wealth, as the like is never remembered to be doon, and therefore no marvaile, though their heavy hartes be now in happy hope, and revived from the clowdy cares of their adversities; for due proof whereof may it like yor Highness to behold the populous concourse of the multitude, the greedy 'yes cast upon yor Majestie on every side the wayes and streetes, filled wth companyes of all ages, desirous to have the fruition of yor joyful p'sence, the howses and habitations lately ryson from their rufull ruyn to a more luyvely and freshe furnyture; briefly, the universal presens of all estates yelde an assured hope, evydent token and profytt——of each good thinge worth such a prynce; so as we may soothely say, O Sovereign, for ourselves and the whole body of this realm, that if all just

* These were not effectually repressed till Cromwell swept them from the seas, as being intolerable nuisances.

laws had not cast upon yor Majestie the inheritance and ryghtful succession in this kingdom, we myght, my lords, in merite most justlie have elected her Majestie thereunto, and have said with the profitt Samuell, "Behold, see ye not whom the Lord hath chosen, and how ther is not alike unto her among all the people." On whom and whos most prudent and pollitique government, with humble obedience we joyfully cast our cares, vowyng for our parts with unfayned hartes the willing expence of our goods and lyves at yor Majesties comandmt; in token of which bounden dutie and loiall good will to yor Highness, sy'th our habilitie is farr inferior, and serveth not to make a sufficient signyficat'on thereof, the baylyffs and cytesyns here present yor Majestie with this poore peece, and small porc'on therein contained, most humbly beseeching yor Highness to accept the same, not as the Grett Alexander accepted the Sowders gyft, nor as the valiant Artaxerzes the little water, gyven by the symple sotte, but as Queen Elixabeth, in whom the fulnes of prynceley benygnytie is wont to accepte the simple presents of her subjects, who's Highness God pr'sve in blessed lyff, in roill raigne, in Nestors yeres among us.

"That a few words uttered by orato^r, with answer thereunto by her Majestie, do appear in the end of this book, [the chamber orders book] amonge other matters written of the whole discourse of her Majesties beying here.

P 'me, EDWARD DARRIELL.

"In the ende of wch oration the people cried with lowd voices, God save yor Grace, God save yor Majestie; unto whom she with a cheerful countenance sayd oftentimes, I thank you, I thank you all. This oration being ended, and as well of her Hyghness as of all the rest of the nobles and honorable and others attentively harde, and by her Hyghness with a pryncelie countenance specially noted and well liked of, as her gave

wytness. And also for that dyvers hono'able afterwards will[d] to have copies thereof, which was done accordingly. The said baylyffs, aldermen, and high chamberlain making most lowly abeysance and countenance towards her Highness, the s[d] Mr. Bellu receivyng from the s[d] Mr. Dighton the sylver cupp wth its cover dooble gylt, worth ten pounds 17 and 2[d], the fairest that mought be found in London, and in the same cup 40 pounds in half sov'aigne, of her owne quoyne and stamp, the w[ch] the s[d] Mr. Dighton all the time of the s[d] oration held openly in his hand, did present her Majestie therewith, useing or uttering certen feir speeche and words to her Highnes good liking; and she receiv[g] the same, gave them thanks most heartilie. And the said baylyffs, aldermen, orator, and the high chamberlain, having their horses reddy by the five servants apparelled all in one livery, of Turkey co'ler, mounted on horseback, and were placed by one of the gent. ushers next before the lord chamberlayne, bearing her Majesties sword before her, viz. next before the lord chamberlain and both the said baylyffs, then the too aldermen, and next before them the orator and the hygh chamberlain, the s[d] officers carrying their maces, and then her Majestie did ryde forward towards the Grass Crosse, with lyghtes [lanterns] plentifully provided by the citizens at their doors, besides the garde and others appointed by order of the house, carrying staff torches: att which cross ther was a pageant or stage very comely deckd by Mr. Raph Wyatt and Mr. Thomas Heywood, appointed for that purpose, with three boys uttering very good and dilectable matter in their speeches, the effect whereof do appear in the begg'ing of this book; whereunto her Highness and the rest did give very attentive yeare, and so ended, tho with gret cryeing of the people as before, God save y' Majestie—She still thanked the people with cherful countenance. . . . her Majestie to Saynt Ellyns church end, wher ther was one other stage or pageant likewise deck[d] by the s[d]

p'sons. At which place her Majestie and the rest of the honorable with as good liking as before, and many merry speeches and countenance proceeded from her Majestie in heering of three boyes ther apoynted; the effect of whose speeches do also appear in the begining of this book amongst the others before, with the like cryeing of the people, and her Majesties chereful words towards the people as before, and so good liking of the matter (as being fowl and rayny wether) she called for her cloke and hatt and tarried the end . . . . . And from thence she passed towards the Cathedrall Church, and in entering into the porch, Nicholas Bullyngh'm, the Lord Buyshop of Worcester, with Doctor Wilson the dean, and prebendaries, and the rest of the quyer, the byshop in his rochett, the deane, and the rest in their surplesses, in the same porch saluted her Majestie, and one of the scholers in the schole (Christ^r Fletcher) then pronounced an orac'on in Lattyn, wherunto she was attentyve, and thereof took verry good liking: wch orac'on ended, she on her knees heard there other service . . . for that time apoynted, and made her praiers; and after a gift geven to her Majestie in a purse of crymson velvett wrought with gold, being £20 in gold in it, she entered into the church with grett and solompne singing and musick, with cornetts and sackbutts, with a canapy boren ov^r her; and so up into the chancell, (choir) wher she diligently viewed the tomb of King John, together with the chapell and tombe of her deere uncle, late Prynce Arther, all rycheley and bewtyfully adorned. And from the church her Majestie passed towards the Byshops P'lace; and after she came into the great chamber, Mr. Baylyffs, Mr. Aldermen, the s^d Orator, and High Chamberlain, kneelying as she came by them, did putt down their maces; and she bowing her hedd towards them, thank'd them for her myrthe, and offered her hand unto them to kysse; wch done, they departed: and on Soneday the fouerteenth day of August her Majestie

was dysposed to ryde in her cotche or wagon* to the Cathedral Church, to heer service and sermon with the noblemen and others on horseback before, Mr. Baylyffs, Aldermen, and Orator, and High Chamberlain, carrying their maces on horseback, and placed next before the serj^{t} att armes; and then the lord chamberlain carying her sword before her Majestie, and after her the Lord Robt Dudley, Yerle of Ley'r, a m'r of her Highnesses horses, following her with her leede palfrey in hand; and then her noble women, ladies, maydens of hon'or, and the waytyng maydens, all on horseback, and the people being innumerable in the streets and churchyard, crying to her Majestie, 'God save y^{r} Majestie, God save y^{r} Grace;' unto whom she rysyng shewed herself at both sides of her cotche unto them, and oftentymes saide, I thank you, I thank you all.

"And so the M^{rs} of the citie standing in their scarlett gownes at the end of the High Street turning into the churchyard, her Majestie proceed^{d} into the churchyard and church with a cheerful countenance, and at three several places in the church, being upon the greftes or stepps, she turned herself back, shewing herself unto the people, who crying God save y^{r} Majestie, she also with a loud voice gave them hartie thanks as before, and into the chancell, and being settled in her traves or seate rychly decked and adorned in the upper end of the chancell next to Prynce Arthur's Chapell, and hering a great and

* Close carriages were first made in England in the reign of Elizabeth, and were then generally called "whirlicotes." In London they were first let for hire in 1625; previous to which, in many places, men were forbidden to ride in them, as effeminate. The Wyldes, of the Commandery, were the first persons who used close carriages in Worcester. In *The World Runs on Wheels* is the following observation with reference to this subject: "In the year 1564, one William Boonen, a Dutchman, brought first the use of coaches hither, and the said Boonen was Queen Elizabeth's coachman; for indeed a coach was a strange monster in these days, and the sight of them put both horse and man into amazement. Some said it was a great crab-shell brought out of China, and some imagined it to be one of the pagan temples in which the cannibals adore the devil." Boonen most probably accompanied her majesty to Worcester.

solem noyse of syngyng of service in the quier both by note and also plaing with cornetts and sackbutts; which being finished, Mr. Doctor Langworth, a p'bendary, ther did reade the p'ystle, and Mr. Dr Wilson, dean, did reed the gospel; and which ended, Doctor Bullyngham, Byshop of Worcester, did preach before her Majestie and the nobles, and others being present, and a gret audience; whyche fynushed, her Majestie retorned again to the palace in like order as before, &c.

"Ey'd on the Moneday morning the said bayliffs, aldermen, orator, and chamberlaynes, with their brethren, for that they had found grett favor and wer much bound for many services to Sir James Crofte, knyght, conntroller of her Majesties howshold, and one of her Majesties pryvye councel, being at Mr. Steyns, and wher he kept his howse, did go unto him, who honourably entertained them, and toke them all by hands; and our orator presented him with a faier peece of gilt enchased plate in man'r of tankard, with a cover, worth £6. 7s. 1d. and besought his honor to accept the same, as a slender token of their grett good will and thankfullness for his honourable favors, which he very modestlie at the first refused, but with some intreaty he accepted the same, and promised to love them as good neighbours, and friend them in anything that he cod do them good in, that they hereafter shall hold with him.

"Apon Tuysday the 16 day of August her Hyghness did ryde towards Hynlypp, to Mr. Abyngton's house to dine with a great number, amongst wch both the baylyffs, aldermen, orator, and high chamberlain did ryde in their scarlett gownes, carrying yr said maces before her Majestie in Sampsons Street, without the Foregate (being a made way) unto the end of our lib'ties, and turning back again, and lyghtyng from their horses, to have doone their duties on their knees, and for that the wayes wer fowle her Majestie [having compassion, as I suppose, on their corduroys and hose] said unto them, I pray you keep your

horses, and do not alight: and at her Majestie's coming homewards towards the citie, the said baylyffs, aldermen, orator, and high chamberlain mett her Majestie as before, without the citie, about 8 of the clock in the yevenyng, and so did bear their maces before her Majestie unto the palace gate, she ryding on horseback, her cotche being p'sent, and fowle weather, with a cheerful pryncely countenance towards her subjects—praying for her Majestie; the w_{ch} turning her horse on every side, and commfortable speeches to her subjects—did give very hartie thanks divers and oftentymes, every howse in the street having both candles in lanterns, torches and candles burning on every side, besides a great number of staff torches carried on every side of her by her garde, wch all gave a marvelous light.

"And on Wednesday the 17th day of August Mr. Baylyffs, Mr. Aldermen, and orator, with certon of their brethren did go to the Lord Robert Dudley, Yerle of Lyeyster, and Ma^{r} of the Queens Majesties horses, being in Mr. Dr. Bullynghams house, a prebendary of the s^{d} church, and the s_{d} our orator declared unto the s^{d} yerle, my lord, 'Mr. Baylyffs and their brethren are come to see y_{r} honor, and to bydd y^{r} honor very humbly welcome to this citie, and in token of their poore good wills they have brought to y^{r} honor too gallons of Iprocras, beseeching you to bear youre honorable favor towards this citie;' and thereupon the yerle took them all by the hands, and thanked them hartelie, and said as followeth: 'I assure you tis a citie that I love with all my harte, and if I may any way do it good, you shall fynde me willing and reddy,' and so bade them all farewell.

"And on Thursday the 18th day of August Mr. Baylyffs, Mr. Aldermen, and orator, with other their brethren, come to the Yerle of Warwick, to wellcome his honour with the like present; to whom the orator spake in effect as before to the Earl of $Leyt^{r}$: and he likewise gave them great thanks, and took them all by the hands, and said this is a proper citie, hit is pytty

it shulde decay and become poore, and for my part I will devise some way to do it good, and so very hartelie bade them farewell. And the same day they did the like to the Yerle of Sussex, lord chamberlain, for that he came but att night, and being in his bede and somewhat diseased, sent them very hartie thanks by his secretary; but they spake not with hym. And likewise the same day they saluted Sir Will. Ceysill, knyght, lord treasurer, for that he came likewise but the nyght before, lying in the deanes howse, who came unto them and did take them all by the hand, and thanked them all for their gentle curtesie.

"And the same day after dinner her Majestie rode to Hallowparke, being Mr. Abyngton's, on her palfrey, and being on Hynwyckehill she viewing Prytchcroft and all the fields adjoining the citie, and the com'ons ther did agree to kepe several for her horses and the horses of her whole trayne and retinue, and turning her palfrey, marvelled to see such a number of horses together; whereunto it was answered by her footemen and others, cytysyns being present, that it was a common grounde, and kept severall for her Majesties horses and of her retynee and trayne; for the which she gave the citie grett thanks. During which tyme of her Majesties abode here ther were pastured by credible reports above 15 hundred horses and geldings, without paying anything therefor (saving several rewards to watchmen, who kept them day and nyght) wch was but 2d. for a horse for 400^d^ horses. The noblemens horses wer pastured in several pastures by themselves, neer unto the citie. And thanks be to God, amongst the said grett nomber of horses and geldings, not one horse or gelding was either stolen, strayd away, or peryshed. And after her Majestie came to Hallow Park, she hunted, and with her bow she kylled one buck and struk another buck, wch beyng recovered, she called for Mr. Abyngton, asking hym how many bucks be kylled? and he said

too bucks. And then said she, lett one of the bucks be brought to the one bayliffs house, and the other buck to the other bayliffs house, with a better good turn. W^ch bucks were brought to the bayliffs howses accordingly. [To be dealt with, no doubt, in that summary manner which I have described and fully set forth in the chapter entitled "Corporation Feasts."] And on Fryeday the 19th day of August, in the afternoon, her Majestie rode to Battenhall Park, intending to hunt ther; but for that she found the game very scarce, she returned again without hunting at all. And that wher her Majestie was apoynted by her ge'stes to have departed from this . . . on Wednesday the 17th day of this August, for the good liking that her Majestie had of this citie, of the people, and of the place, she tarried her until the Saterday, the twentyeth day, and abowte three in the clock in the afternoon her Majestie disposyng to ryde away, the baylyffs, aldermen, orator, and high chamberlain rode before her Majestie in scarlett, and in their places, carrying their maces as before at her receaving, throughe . . . the streets beyng replenyshed with people cryeing to her Majestie, and praying for her; and also she cheerfully and comfortably speaking to the people, and thanks gevyng with a lowd voice; and having a way made up the stuble fylde beynd the barne beyonde the cross at Tewkesbury lane ende, towards Battenhall Park, the freemen of the citie stoode arow in their gownes, or best apparel, and above them the 48 in their gownes of violet in grayne, and then some of the 24, not having been bayliffs, in murrey in grayne, and all the rest that had been bayliffs in scarlett, stretching to the top of the hill there; at wch place the baylyffs, aldermen, orator, and high chamberlain alighted, and kneeling, the orator spake these words—'Most gracious Sovereign, beying some what more then the uttermost confynes of our strayt liberties, to our no little greef, without your Hyghnesses further commandmt, we

are to leave your joyfull presence, most humbly beseeching yor Highness to pardon all our defects of dutie happened either for want of abilitie, or through ignorance ; and we humbly thanke your Majestie for your pryncely favor towards us, beseeching you to continuey our good and gracious Sovereign, and no subjects shall more hartelie pray for yor Majestie long to live, and happelie to rayne over us, than we.' Then said her Majestie, 'M'rs, I thank you all very hartely for y^{r} paynes, and I thank you for the greet cheer you made to my men, for they talk greatlie of it ; and I pray you com'end me to the whole citie, and thank them for their verry good will and paynes, and I assure you, you all pray so heartily for me, as I feare you will by y^{r} prayers make me lyve to long ; but I thank you all ; and so God be with you !' and so departed with teres in her 'yes ; and the people with a lowd cry sayd, 'God save y^{r} Majestie !' and so proceeded towards Battenhall, and through Battenhall Park, through made ways, with a great trayne both before and behynd, and so to Elmley Bredon, wher she lay that nyght, and on Soneday all day ; and so Mr. Bayliffs and Aldermen on foote, with their brethren and the whole chamber, returned together to the Toll Shop, and from thence departed home to their howses with grett joy, that her Majestie, with the rest of the nobles, the traine, with the officers of the house, and her men, had given the citie so good reporte of good liking of this citie, and of their interteynment by the citesyns.

"And on Moneday, at the uttermost p'te of the countie, between the Elmley and the Castle of Suydley, in the presence of the shreeve, being Mr. Edmond Colles, Esquire, and other gentlemen of the shere, ther taking their leave, and recognisyng their duties, and of the gent. of Gloucshire ther receiving her Majestie, she said to the Lord Buyshop of Worcester, 'My lord, I wold talk with you.' Who alighted from his horse : to whom, after some private talk had by her Majestie unto him,

she sayd, 'My lord, I pray you comend me hartelie to the bayliffs of Worcester, and to their brethren, and to the whole cite; and I thank them hartely for my good interteynment, and for the good chere they made my men.' And then said the lord bishop, 'Hit may please yor Majestie, so it is, their trade is not so good as it hath been, for the meyntenance of their lyvyng, but their poor good wills and hartes your Majestie hath.' And then said she, 'I perceive that very well, and I like as well of them as I ham liked of any people in all my progressive tyme in all my lyff.' The wch comfortable commendations and sayings of her Majestie towards the citie, when the lord byshop retorned back to this citie, callyng for the baylyffs and others of their brethren unto hym, his L. utterd unto them the said pryncely and loving speeches of her Majestie, praying them to utter the same to the residue, and so will I as I meet with them.

"*The Noble Men's Names attending her Majestie at Worcester.*

"Sir Will. Cecill, Knyght, L. of Burghley, and L. Treas^r of England.—The L. Thomas Ratclyff, Yerle of Sussex, L. Chamberlayne to the Queens Majestie.—The L. Ambrose Dudley, Yerle of Warwyk.—The L. Robt Dudley, Yerle of Leyc^r and M^r of the Queens Majesties Horses.—Sr Francys Knolles, Knyght, Thresurer of the Queens Majesties Howshold.—Sr James Crofte, Knt, Controller of the same.—Sir Thomas Smythe, Kt, chief secretary to the Queens Majestie.—Mr. Francys Wallsyngham, Esquire, the other Secretary to her Majestie.—Sr Edward Sutton, L. Dudley.—Sr Charles Howard, L. of Effynh'm, and Lord Chamberlayn in the absence of the E. of Sussex.—The Lord Harry Seym'r, sone to the Duke of Som'sett, dec'ssed.—The Lord Straynge, sone and heyre apparent to the Yerle of Dudley.—Sir Thom^s Sackvile, Knyght, Lord Buckhurst.

"Byshupps.

"Doctor Bullynham, Byshup of Worcestr.—Doctor Storye, Buyshopp of Hereford.—Doctor Cheyny, Buyshop of Gloucr.—Doctor Bentan, Buyshopp of Lychefild and Coventree.—Doctor Freak, Buyshopp of Rochester, Almoner to the Queen's Majestie, and elected Bp. of Norwych.—Doctor Wilson, one of the Mars of the Court of Request (Dean of Worcester).

"L'adies of Honor.

"The Lady Marques of Northampton, widow, late Wyfe to late Marques of Northampton.—The Lady Countess of Sussex.—The Lady Countes of Warw'.—The Lady Vere, sister to the Yerle of Oxford.—The Lady Bourser, syster to the Yerle of Bath.—The Lady Howard, wief to L. Dudley.—The Lady Hunsdon, wief to . . . S— Cary, Lord Hunsdon.—The Lady Cobham, wief to the Warden of the Fyve Ports.—The Lady Stafford, widow, late the wyff to Sir Will. Staff, dec'd.—The Lady Patchett.

"The Accompts of Mr. Christ. Dighton, Hygh Baylyff.

	£.	s.	d.
"Inprimis, his Receipts, as appeareth by his bills, as by his bills annexed more at large appeareth	198	16	4
"Inprimis, for a gylte cup with a cover geven unto the Queens Majestie, weying 29 oz. and 3 qrs. at 7s. 4d. the ounce	10	18	2
"More in gold with the same cupp given to her Majestie	40	0	0
"Item, a can cupp gilt, geven to Mr. Countroller, Sir James Crofte, wng 20 oz. and ½ a quarter, at 6s. 8d. the ounce	6	8	1

"Money given in rewarding to the Queens Majesties Officers.

"Inprimis, to the harbengers, . . .	0	20	0
Item, to too serj'ts at armes . . .	0	40	0

	£.	s.	d.
Item, to the eight footmen as they say in respect of the fyve maces offered to the Queens Majestie, ys their fee. . .	5	0	0
Item, to the trompeters	0	10	0
Item, to the cotchmen and litter men .	0	30	0
Item, to the way men, viz. the makers of ways	0	10	0
Item, to the ordynary messengers of the Queens chamber	0	40	0
Item, to the Yerle of Leycesters musecians	0	6	8
Item, to the yomen of the male . .	0	10	0
Item, to Osland brynger of the sword into the lib'ties	0	10	0
Item, to Mr. Gascoyne, post mar . .	0	20	0
Item, to the knyght marshall for his fee 13*s.* 4*d.* and to his men 6*s.* 8*d.* .	0	20	0
Item, to the Clerk of the markett of the Queens howshold	0	40	0
Item, to his men	0	6	8
Item, to the gentlemen of the bottles .	0	20	0
Item, to the black garde	0	20	0
Item, to the Queens Majesties bakers .	0	7	0
Item, to the officers of the boylinghowse .	0	6	8
Item, to the Queens musecians . .	0	40	0
Item, to the postmasters man . .	0	2	0
Item, to hym that carried the sword furth of the liberties	0	10	0
Item, to the Queens Majesties porters .	0	10	0
Item, to M. Morall, for 6 cote clothes for fyve serjts and the bellman . .	4	5	6
Item, given to them that brought the too bucks, killd at Hallow Park by the Queens Majestie, to both the baylyffs howses	0	10	0

	£.	s.	d.
Item, to Mr. Lupton, for his paynes for and devising and instructing the children in their speeches on the too stages .	4	0	0
Item, to his man for waiting . . .	0	10	0
Item, to George Warberton, for Luptons charges, his wief and man, and their horses	0	33	4
Item, to Mr. Heywood, for entertayning of the six children on the too stages, with 12*s.* to the children for their labour, and for hurt done upon silk borrowed, as appeareth by his bill . . .	0	31	7
Item, to John Davies, for all his payntyng at the Toll Shop, and otherwise, for the citie, as appear[th] by his bill . .	16	0	0
Item, to Mr. Bellu, the orator, in consideration of his journeys to Mr. Controller, to the Court at Kyllyngworth, and his paynes	20	0	0
Item, to Mr. Dyghton, for Mr. Bells diet and his too men for 12 days, and his horse meate	0	44	0
Item, to Mr. Dyghton, for Iprocras* geven to the lords and others of the privie councell, and other charges, as appeareth by his bill	8	4	5
" Charges leyd out by the Chamberlains.			
" Item, paid to George Warberton and John Edwards, chamberlains, for their bill of charges leyd out for the citie, against the Queen's Majestie comyng to Worcest[r]	14	13	0

" Which said several sums, together with divers others several sums, amounteth to £173. 8*s.* 4*d.* as appeareth by his bills and receyts deliberately examined, and all things allowed,

* A liquor used at the king's table. The price 3*s.* 6*d.* the pottle.

ther remayneth in Mr. Dyghtons hands £25; which £25 together with £5 ys allowed to the said Mr. Dyghton, as appereth in the next chamber.

"*Money rece'd and borrowed for the Use of the Citie as followeth hereafter.*

	£.	s.	d.
"Ressevid of 23 of the 24 at 40 shil^{gs} the pece, amounting to . . . . . viz. that there is unpaid Mr. Dedicott.	46	0	0
Resseived of the companies of the 48, after the rate of 20s. the pece . . .	48	0	0
Ressev'd and borrowed out of Mr. Yowls money in the treasire	42	0	0
Resseved and borrowed out of the corporations money out of the treasire	11	0	0
Payd——Ressevd of Richard Hemyng for the company of m'rcers . . .	2	0	0
Payd——Ressevid of the occupazance of the drapers	3	0	0
Payd——Ressevd of the wevers . .	13	6	0
Payd——Ressevd of the brewers . .	2	0	0
Payd——Ressevd of the chawnlers . .	2	0	0
Payd——Resseved of the shomakers .	3	0	0
Payd——Ressev'd of the walkers . .	6	13	4

"The som' am^{t} to 1 C liiij; the rest unpaid £122.

"Res' of Mr. Gibbs of Mr. Youls money, beyng leyed out for wood, and which was at the begining deliv^{d} to Mr. Fleet and Mr. James	7	0	0
Rec. of Mr. Chamberlens for one whole yeres rent of Mr. Yowles land, due at Mich'as 1579 yeare	8	14	4

"The sum of all these bills £137. 14s. 4d.

"Money received of the constables as followeth.

	£.	s.	d.
R^d of Roger Streete and Richd Wellyn, constables of Sent Andrews warde, in money	9	8	6
R^d of Thos Ashwyn and George Wells, constables of St Petters, in money .	7	10	8
R^d of Edmund Barbar and yes fellow Richard Hemyng, constables of All Hallow ward on account of theyr charge	13	7	2
R^d of Edw. Qycke and Will. Wylkyns, constables of Saint Marten, on acco^t of theyr charge	7	6	5
R^d of Simond Backe and Robert Wythe, constables of Sent Necollys ward, on account of their charge . . .	5	8	0
R^d of Homfrey Gest and John Prosser, constables of the Hye ward, on account of their charges	13	5	4
R^d of Francis Nott, constable of St. Clemens, on account of his charge .	0	19	0

"Som' am^t £54 17 2
57 5 8

"R^d of Gervthe Chanlor and his fellow HomfrayToms, sterayeres of the walkers for these walkers y^t ar nott of the chamber, as appeareth by another bill hereunto annexed	3	16	4

"£61 2 0

"Som' of all the resseyts in both these bills, as appeareth more at large, is 1 C 98*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.*

"Some of the whole charges £173. 8s. 0d.

"So resteth clere the sum of £25. 8s. 0d."

Olla Podrida.

"This fierce abridgment
Hath to it circumstantial branches, which
Distinction should be rich in"—SHAKSPEARE.

MISCELLANEOUS subjects, not immediately connected with any of the foregoing, may, perhaps, more properly be arranged in the following isolated form, according to date:

Early in the reign of Elizabeth an entry occurs of 16s., "which the citie owes to St. Andrew's, unpaid for the rood-loft." These rood-lofts—the gallery dividing the nave from the chancel of a church, and on which the figure of our Saviour on the cross was raised—had been almost everywhere pulled down at and subsequent to the Reformation. The corporation had probably purchased the gallery to have it erected in the hall for municipal purposes. In 1686, the sum of £2 was incurred for the erection of "a new pulpit" in the hall. A pulpit is not necessarily for ecclesiastical purposes: it may have been a mayor's chair or throne. A "chequer" is mentioned in the chapter on "Elections," which was probably a dais or raised platform wherefrom to address the people. Checker, or Exchequer, also means a court or hall for the trial of causes. The two law courts of the Worcester Town Hall were then at each end of the hall, facing each other.

1563.—"The High Cross over against the toll shop" was ordered to be taken down, "at the charge of the neighbours, and the sitting place and stones remaining to be laid within the Guildhall at the like charge." The High Cross had been defaced some years before. Ten years after the issuing of the above order, Thomas Rudge appears on the books as making a demand of 40s., "which he lent towards building the high cross." In ancient days there were civil, devotional, and road crosses erected. Besides that above mentioned, there was one at the cathedral (which, with the images of Our Lady, was burnt in the churchyard, 1560); another at the Grass Cross (taken down, 1578); and crosses at Lowesmoor, Red Hill, Sidbury Gate, Bath Road, Whitstanes, &c. The public pageants and processions began and terminated at these crosses.

1564.—Alderman Bullingham and Andrew Walton were ordered to view the coal-pit at Pensax belonging to the dean and chapter, and make a report. This pit appears to have been afterwards worked by the advance of a loan from the corporation, and frequent charges are made by the town clerk and others "for riding to ye coal-pit at Pensax." It should be observed that till within a comparatively recent period the state of the roads was such as to prevent the carriage of heavy commodities, except during a very limited period of the year, and that no pressing necessity existed for the general circulation of coal until the disafforesting of large tracts of country had rendered wood full scarce. It is probable that the condition of the highways at first made it necessary to obtain supplies of coal from the nearest available workings, without regard to the quality of the commodity; and hence the citizens of Worcester seem to have been long dependant on the pits at Pensax for their supplies, until increased facilities for transit had opened to them more distant fields. An inferior sort of coal is procured at Pensax to this day.

1568.—It was agreed by the chamber—

"That thirty lotts shal be put into the lottery, and divided into three partes—viz., one parte from the 24, the second from the 48, and the third from the treasury; and the advantage or the loss thereof likewise to be divided in the same three partes, and that they shal pass in the name of William James, and that the treasurer of both the companies and the chamberlains shal collect and bring in the same before Wednesday next."

Let the reader in his imagination transfer these events to the present day, and in lieu of the grave and reverend seigneurs of 1568, let him picture Mr. Alderman Thompson, Mr. Southan, or Mr. Price, consenting, with their brethren of the council, to the investment of a few hundreds of the borough fund in Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton, or some other scrip, to be purchased in the name of Mr. Padmore, our worthy mayor, and the dividends (when gotten) to be divided between the soup charity and the roasting of an ox in front of the Guildhall. This effort of the imagination could scarcely prove more ridiculous or unlikely, according to our present view of things, than the actually recorded facts of former years. But hush! let us pass our judgment with humility! It may be reserved for the men of a future generation to castigate *our* vices, and to laugh at *our* follies, though we ourselves cannot perceive them. Time is the mirror which flatters no man.

1570.—"Paid to Mr. Darnell the fee of a certificate for not eatynge fleshe, 4s." The keeping of Lent and the fish days of the Romish church was continued in England down to the time of Charles I, and was enforced with great rigour under Elizabeth, partly with a religious feeling, and partly from policy, in the belief that it was necessary to encourage the fisheries, as they were the cradle of the navy. Queen Elizabeth used to say that she would never eat flesh in Lent without obtaining license from her little black husband, as she called Archbishop Whitgift. In the twenty-second year of that Queen's reign an entry was made

in the register of St. Martin's Church, Worcester, of a licence granted by John Wilkinson, the parson, to Thomas Heywood, to eat meat "for the time of his sickness, and no longer." Those however who possessed the means, might purchase the indulgence for any length of time in proportion to the length of their purse. The Archbishop of Canterbury (8th of Charles I) licensed the Earl of Northumberland, with his countess and any eight of his guests, to eat flesh on fast days for the term of his life, he paying 26s. 3d. per annum for the privilege.

1572.—"Item, paid to Samuel Purzett towards the healyng of his thombe and hurt of the same in withstanding of the pytchers at Mr. James's commandment, then being low baylie, 10s." I have been unable to discover who these "pytchers" were, or whether the noun is common or proper.

1577.—"The channel of the Severn to be scoured and new cast, that the water may be brought to the keys."

1584.—"Received of John Harrys for marrying with Thomas Phyllyps wife, being a free woman, 13s 4d." This payment was always made to the corporation in acknowledgment of the advantages to be derived from a matrimonial connection with the widows of Worcester—a favoured class of ladies, to whom Queen Elizabeth, on her visit to this city, made a grant of "free bench;" by which they enjoyed for their lives the freehold lands left by their husbands, in preference to any claim by creditors or others.

1594.—"Ordered, that half a fifteenth [tax] be levied towards the relief and re-edifying of Stratford-on-Avon."

1597.—"Mr. Low Bailiff to bear the charge of one subsidy dinner in lieu of not keeping the law day after Christmas."

1618.—The corporation gave £20 to the new organ at the college. This instrument was destroyed by Essex's army during the Civil Wars.

1624.—The "new churchyard in Angel Lane" was first set

forth this year. It had formerly been an orchard belonging to the Black Friars, situated at the back of their monastery.

1653.—The corporation instituted a suit against several parties for compensation respecting digging of cinders in Little Pitchcroft. These were iron cinders, or scoriæ, which had accumulated there in Roman times, and had remained ever since. The cinders so found were valuable, inasmuch as the Romans, not being acquainted with the best means of extracting the metal, left their cinders but half used, and, wherever found, they are eagerly taken for the purpose of re-smelting. Andrew Yarranton, of Astley, a great traveller and writer, in a work published in 1698, says—

"About twenty-eight years since Mr. Yarranton found out a vast quantity of Roman cinders near the walls of the city of Worcester, from whence he and others carried away many thousand tons or loads up the river of Severn unto their iron furnaces, to be melted down into iron, with a mixture of the Forest of Dean ironstone; and within one hundred yards of the walls of the city of Worcester there was dug up one of the hearths of the Roman foot-blasts, it being then firm and in order, and was seven feet in the earth; and by the side of the work there was found out a pot of Roman coine, to the quantity of a peck, some of which was presented to Sir Dugdale, and part thereof is now in the King's Closet: by all which circumstances it clearly appears that the Romans made iron in England, and as far up the river Severn as the city of Worcester, where as yet there are vast quantities remaining."

Some suppose these remains to have been Saxon, and that the Romans could not have been so ignorant of the arts as is implied in the above statement.

1661.—A lease of certain land is made to Alderman Solley on condition that he will make "the holy well in The Butts as it formerly was, and rail it round." This place derived its name from the game of shooting at the butts—see the chapter on "Sports and Festivities."

1674.—"Paid to Smithe, for keeping a woman with child, by Mr. Mayor's orders, 6^{s} 8^{d}."

1699.—The Foregate was ordered to be pulled down, to build the workhouse. St. Martin's Gate was not pulled down till 1754, and Sidbury Gate in 1768.

1705.—£15 given towards building an episcopal church at Rotterdam.

1711.—£20 given towards building a new church at Birmingham.

1720.—"P^{d} to a sword-bearer for a horse to ride to Lord Coventry to wish him joy on the birth of his son, Lord Deerhurst, 2^{s}."

1736.—"In consequence of the injury done to the corporation property, no tables and chairs to be lent out from the hall except to the dean and chapter and the judges."

1739.—An order was given to the representative of the city to concur with the members for London in promoting a bill to restrain the number of placemen in the House of Commons.

1740.—"A great number of dragoons having quartered in the city of late, and the dryness of the weather having occasioned a scarcity of grass for several miles round that very little was mowed, and old stocks being exhausted, it will be impossible for the innkeepers to get stock for the next winter: ordered, that the Hon. T. Winnington, our recorder, be requested to use his interest to prevent dragoons being quartered here next winter."

1743.—"Paid the bellman, for crying down football kicking, 2^{s} 6^{d};" and 1772, "Paid for proclaiming not to throw snowballs, 2^{s} 6^{d}."

1745.—"Paid to Frank Rea his bill on the rebels raising the siege of Stirling Castle, 8^{s} 3^{d}."

1748.—"For wine and entertainment at Mr. W. Hooper's house during the time the books of the corporation were inspecting by order of the Speaker of the House of Commons; and to Mr. T. Cornewell, London carrier, for the carriage of the s^{d} books to and from London."

1754.—"Paid half ye expenses at ye balls at ye last musick meeting, 9^l 8^s 4^d."

1771.—The freedom of the city was presented to Mr. Crosby, Lord Mayor of London, and to Mr. R. Oliver, one of the aldermen, "for their courage and activity in vindicating the laws of their country against the pretended privilege of the House of Commons." *

1775.—The Worcester corporation sent up to the King a warm address in favour of legislative authority, and denouncing the American rebellion.

THE PLAGUE OF 1637.

Since the before-going part of this work was at press I have received, through the kindness of Dr. Turley, an ancient printed pamphlet of elegiac verses, relative to the plague in this city in the years 1637 and 1638; and as it may prove interesting at this juncture of the second approach of the cholera, I here reprint it.

"Worcester's Affliction: exhibited in Elegiac Verse, written on Occasion of the Dreadful Plague of Pestilence, which begun in the City of Worcester on the 3rd of June, 1637, and continued till the 9th of April, 1638. To which is prefixed a Table of the Number of Persons that died monthly in each Parish, in the City and Suburbs, during that fatal calamity. The whole collected and written by Philip Tinker, Gent., and now first printed from his original manuscript.

"Total Number of Deaths, in the several parishes, from the Dreadful Plague at Worcester, since the known beginning

* The Lord Mayor, Crosbie, was sent to the Tower for a breach of privilege, committed in resisting an assumption of arbitrary authority. (See *History of England.*)

thereof, June 3, 1637, 'till its period, April 9, 1638:—St. Alban, 24; All Saints, 167; St. Andrew, 236; St. Clement, 38; St. Helen, 142; St. Martin, 50; St. Nicholas, 182; St. Peter, 99; St. Swithin, 93; The Pest-Houses, 405; The College, 4; St. Michael, 65.

"Buried of the Plague in St. John's Parish . .	26
Ditto at St. Oswald's, or the Tything . . .	20
Total of the Dead within the Liberties . . .	1505
Total within and without the Liberties . .	1551

"MEMENTO MORI.

[Here is a rough wood cut of a skull and cross bones, on a black ground.]

"ELEGIAC VERSES ON THE PLAGUE OF PESTILENCE.

"WHOE'ER thou art that this sad Verse shall read,
Or view* the sadder Numbers of the Dead;
Read not without a Tear, or grieving Heart,
For Sin that caus'd, griev'd weeping WOR'STER's Smart;
Lest thou alone be found relentless dry,
Whilst WOR'STER in a brinish Bath doth lye.

"Heav'n pierc'd, Heav'n's KING provok'd with loudest Cry
Of daring Sin, looks down with sparkling Eye,
And in just Anger threatens swiftest Death
To all that breathing breath'd 'gainst Heav'n their Breath.
This to effect, a dreadful Pestilence
He sends, to purge and punish Man's Offence;

"* See the prefixed Table."

Which swift Depopulator spreading, sweeps
Whole Housholds to the Grave—the Marble weeps,
Because it restless is ;—the Ground relents,
Because the Spade so oft her Bowels rents :
Nor Parish, Street, nor scarce a House is free
From Death, or Plague, or Sense of Misery.

"Here groans the Husband on the sickly Bed,
From whence but now his Wife was taken dead ;
There lies a Daughter struggling hard with Death,
And there a Son parting with sigh'd-out Breath.
The late-born Infant sucks with weary Jaws
The Breast of tainted Mother, and thence draws
His own Destruction, thence for Life his Fate,
Not knowing Death upon the Nipple sate.
Some see whose Care their dying Friends attends,
Now sound, now dead, interr'd before their Friends.
In longest Day then could we scarcely meet
Two or more Persons in the longest Street,
Excepting such to Grave with Dead that went,
Or such as were half dead to Pesthouse sent.
Then was the Sight, I'd almost said the Name
Of Wor'ster Men, in Hatred made the same
As direful Plague ; their Journeys oft in vain ;
The best was shunn'd, stov'd off, turn'd back again :
Nor Friend of Friend could Entertainment have,
Tho' fainting he Relief with Tears did crave.

"Men harden'd so, Complaints to Beasts he makes,
The Sky for House, the Field for Bed he takes ;
Such is the Power, so great the Tyranny,
Yea such the Envy of this Malady,
As that the choicest Friends it separates,
The next of Kin ally'd—the dearest Mates.

To add to these our Griefs, more Ills, less Good,
The Country's Fear detain'd our daily Food;
Had not some rare CORNELII of our Age
Then sent their Alms, here had been Hunger's Rage.
I would, but weak's my Muse to set them forth,
Themselves have well exprest the Marks of Worth.
Nor can I wonder that such Fear possest
The Country Swain, when from the City's Breast
Her dearest Children wean'd themselves, and sought
Another Nurse—and Nursing dearly bought:
Nor will I much condemn their hasten'd Flight;
Such as remain'd, without Disturbance, might
Of Customers, at Door or Window stand
With Eye as idle as their empty Hand,
To view the Corses borne to their dark Cells,
Or reckon up the dreadful Passing-Bells
Hourly proclaiming that all Flesh must dye
By this or such deserv'd Calamity.

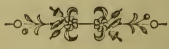
"The Weaver and his Shuttle took their Rest,
The Loom and Lath their wonted Knocking ceast,
Because Man's Life more swift than Shuttle fled,
And heavy Lath of Sickness brake the Thread:
The Web was cut from Tree whereon 'twas bound,
And many were the Ends that fell to Ground.
Truth 'tis, to make a Coffin or a Grave
Was here the greatest Work that Man could have:
Nor Work, nor Word to make sad Souls rejoice,
'Stand in!—Keep back!—Shut Door!'—was all the Voice.

"Music was then exil'd—the Singers mourn'd—
Our Songs of Praise to Lamentations turn'd;
Nor better Tone than Groans of him that dies,
Or Sounds of dead Mens' Knells, or Children's Cries

For Loss of Parents, or the Widow's Plaints
For Husband's Death and her ensuing Wants :
And, in the Close, the Wonted solemn Rites
Of Fun'ral—due to meanest mortal Wights—
Are quite extinct, and buried in our Fears,
The Man his Wife, or Wife her Husband bears
To his last Bed of Rest,—whilst in another
The last-left mourning Son lays in his Mother !

"In this extremest sad Catastrophe,
The Mourners Bearers and Attendants be ;
Nor can they sooner to their Home return
But they for Others make new Cause to mourn,
Till that our GOLGOTHA is grown so small
That there no Room is left for Burial.
Seven Times the pallid Moon grew new and old,
Whilst more or less did this Affliction hold.

"But will the LORD in Storms himself invest ?
Shall Earth no more with Mercy's Sun be blest ?
HE that the Heav'ns measures with a Span,
Measures the Griefs of poor dejected Man :
HE will not sure resolve on constant Wrath ;
In Midst of Judgment HE Compassion hath :
View but the Table well, and you shall say
HE turns our cloudy to a Sun-shine Day ;
And if you would GOD'S End and Purpose know,
Thus punishing the Sons of Men below,
This hath he done to cleanse the running Sore
Of sickest Soul, that Man may sin no more."



The Good Old Times.

"A FIG for the 'good old times,'
Of which some love to sing;
A fig for the dogg'rel rhymes
From grumblers' brains that spring.

"In these 'good old times,' say they,
'Men were as men should be;
They fared on the best each day,
And lived right jollily.'

"Though many fared well each day,
The millions were oppress'd;
And 't is surely false to say
The people then were bless'd.

"And never again, let's pray,
May might alone be right:
The sun of a better day
Now sheds its glorious light!"

MY readers, who have followed me through the foregoing pages, will scarcely require the aid of elaborate argument to convince them of the advantages of the times in which we live as compared with the days of our forefathers. Mr. Macaulay truthfully observes—

"It is now the fashion to place the golden age of England in times when noblemen were destitute of comforts, the want of which would be intolerable to a modern footman; when farmers and shopkeepers breakfasted on loaves, the very sight of which would raise a riot in a modern workhouse; when men died faster in the purest country air than they now do in the most pestilential lanes of our towns; and when men died faster in the lanes of our towns than they now die on the coast of Guiana. We, too, shall, in our turn, be outstripped, and, in our turn, be envied."

The picture I have drawn of the moral, social, and physical condition of the city of Worcester, for the past three centuries, is no exaggeration, but a sober and truthful reality, which at once supplies an answer to those morbid libellers who have no faith in the spirit of progress, or whose visions of the past constitute their only perceptions of beauty. The examination of details such as I have now published—and which are probably of a similar character to those embraced in the records of other cities and important towns—will afford the truest estimate of the progress made by the English people in civilization, physical comforts, morals, and religion. These pages are so many landmarks, by which we may measure the advance we have made and calculate our course for the future. We who live under the mild sway of a limited monarchy, and enjoy the blessing of religious toleration, may indeed look back with astonishment and gratitude upon the times when our national liberties were trodden under foot by princes, for whose crown and dignity our citizens shed their choicest blood; and when nonconformists found it necessary to purchase the connivance of the agents of government by presents of hogsheads of wine and of gloves stuffed with guineas. The monopoly of exclusive trading—the assize and assay, the barbarisms of cock-throwing, bull-baiting, and whipping of women, the gum-stool and the pillory—have one by one disappeared. The days when the churches of the land were desecrated with superstitious pageants and mysteries are now numbered with the past. Our local governors no longer invest the public money in lotteries, in monstrous feasting, or in a periodical rustication with mine host of "The New Beare," at Gloucester. Our roads now are not sloughs, over which the country gentlemen pass but once, or perhaps never, to town, during the existence of a long life; and although in our own time we have heard of Rebecca riots, yet were they occasioned not by any fancied interference with the vested rights of the

pack-horse and the waggon, but by the conviction that even the benefits of a turnpike act might be purchased at a price too exorbitant for the profits of trade and commerce to bear. The streets of our city—once occupied by sawpits, timber, and heaps of dung—the delight of errant pigs and ducks, and the nucleus of disease—also attest the advancement of the times. The right of way is not now vehemently contested by drivers, nor is the night pedestrian likely again to risk his neck or his ribs by falling through a tavern hole, misguided by the *ignis fatuus* of a horn lantern hung out at a distant door.

But here let us pause. My object is not to glorify the present generation at the expense of those who, centuries ago, played their parts in the busy scene of life. A beautful maxim of La Fontaine has frequently been present with me—

> "Il fit pour nos defauts la poche de derrière,
> Et celle de devant pour les défauts d'autrui."

Let us not, then, magnify the faults of those who flourished before us, but learn to imitate them in the practice of those virtues which this age seems more particularly to need. Let us inculcate the devotion, the munificence, and the self-denying piety, which endowed our alms-houses, schools, and colleges, and raised the stately Christian fabrics of our land. May hospitality, neighbourly feeling, and reverence to law and order, still flourish and abound: but let the superficial deceptions of society, pride, and the base mercenary spirit which causes an intermittent fever in our social system, threatens to extinguish the noblest impulses of our nature, and to discourage, if not destroy, the latent spark of genius when not devoted to the selfish pursuits of the age, be condemned by every honest man who has an independent voice to raise, or a quill unsteeped in the viscous juice of adulation.

THE END.

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Pray bethink you, have you any
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Love 's a fickle God, they tell us,
Giddy pated, lightly led;
Therefore it were well you found him
In a comfortable bed.

Olive branches soon will blossom
Round your table, two and three,
And that table should be made of
Good and strong mahogany.

If the cares of life should gather—
And we all must look for cares—
Sorrow falls extremely lightly
In the midst of rosewood chairs.

Few that walk can scape a stumble,
Thus hath said the prophet king;
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London: Printed by M. MASON, Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row.

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